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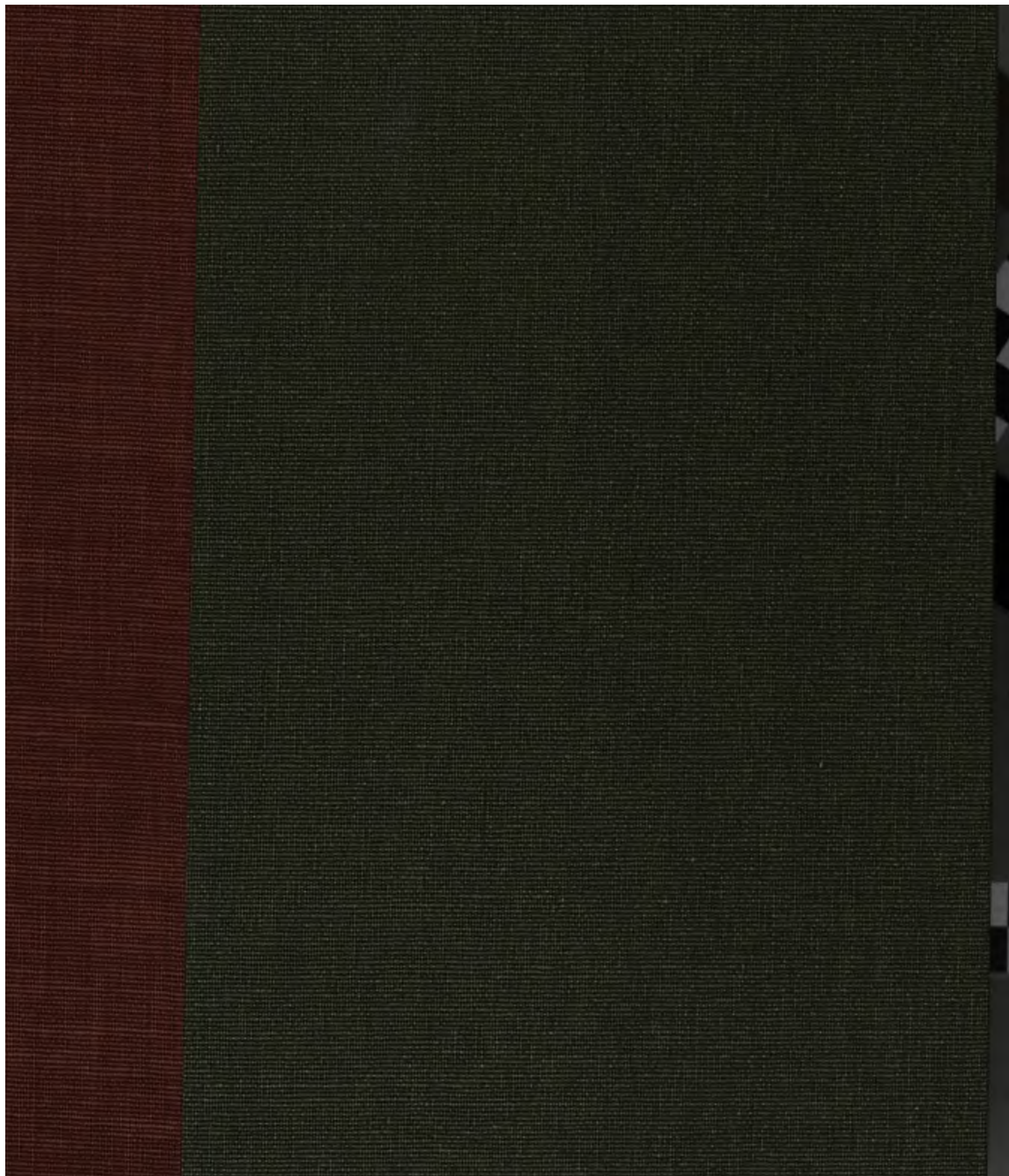
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William, first Earl of Portland
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11

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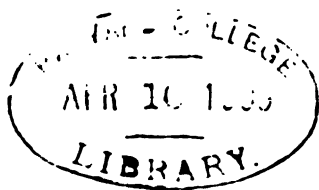
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PREFATORY NOTE

THE letters and other documents here catalogued are a selection from the different strata of the Portland archives arranged and exhibited in the great library at Welbeck.

If the calendars prepared by the Historical MSS. Commission may be said to show what Welbeck has contributed to English history, our object has been rather to trace the course of English history as it has passed over Welbeck.

The papers of the first Earl and third Duke of Portland have not yet been dealt with by the Commission, so in these cases the choice of the compiler was limited by nothing but considerations of space. On the other hand, the Cavendish and Harley collections have already yielded up the most and the best of their treasures, so that this part of the series, though still vivid and suggestive, represents but very imperfectly the wealth and interest of the collection as a whole.

Case I. carries us back to those monastic beginnings out of which, *per tot discrimina rerum*, so many titles of nobility have flowered. The MS. Lives of the Saints, several of which are unpublished and presumably unique, was probably acquired by the second Earl of Oxford, who, as it appears, carried the zeal of an amateur to the length of bargaining for rare books and MSS. out of college libraries.

Case II. is entirely devoted to the first Earl and his period, from his arrival in England to negotiate the fateful marriage to his retirement in dudgeon from the service of his master.

He is the bearer of the Prince's hypocritical offer of assistance in the suppression of Monmouth's rising, which William had secretly favoured and promoted until the issue had declared itself in the sense contrary to his hopes.

Following Portland to Paris on his splendid embassy in 1698, we are introduced into the very midst of the courtly throng that still lives and moves in the pages of St. Simon; in fact we are privileged to hear what are in all probability the very words of Portland's address to the great King. The ambassador imposed himself with the happiest results on high and low; for whereas in England society was apt to be critical, if not scornful, of his Batavian graces, in France he passed for a perfect cavalier. The Marshals of France write in terms of friendship and confidence, though Villars, perhaps the ablest of all, is conspicuous by his absence. The Duc de Boufflers, whose epigrams were as keen as his sword, acknowledges the present of a horse; and the incompetent Duc de Villeroi returns thanks for Portland's kind condolences on his misfortune at Cremona, which was more like what might have happened to Don Quixote than an incident of *la grande guerre*. The mad Prince de Condé, like Anacreon, tries no martial themes, but confines himself in his long friendly letter to the cares of his house and garden.

Meanwhile at St. Germain there was another Court which derived a pale lustre from the countenance of *le roi soleil*. We have the last letter despatched by James II. to the Prince of Orange before the break up and flight in 1688; the futile proclamation of "this poor prince," as Prior called him, in 1693, and the authorised French translation of his memoirs, signed and sealed by the Queen.

Even if the fact were not well known, the remarkable letter from Godolphin would show that the King had promoted and rewarded Portland in the face of law and custom, and consequently at the risk of his own popularity; but the time came when the favourite saw or fancied himself superseded. From the letters that passed between them it is clear that the rupture was inevitable; but the style is vague and allusive, and we learn nothing for certain except that the feelings of the writers were highly excited. The retirement of Portland after so long a spell of the sunshine of royal favour seems to have created hardly less of a sensation at home and abroad than the dismissal of Marlborough some years later. The Duc de Villeroi speaks of Portland's glorious separation from affairs; the Duke of Shrewsbury, William's "King of Hearts," assures him that no

change of wind in high quarters will affect his personal regard; and the Princess Palatine writes a long letter full of her accustomed good humour and good sense. After the death of William, Portland, though retired, was not neglected. He is kept informed from the inner circle of the state of public affairs, and Marlborough announces to him the victories of Blenheim, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet.

In Case III. we have the relics of the great Duke of Newcastle, of whom Welbeck is still redolent, though it has changed hands since his day and lost the character that he knew.

He appears as poet, statesman, and cavalier. The treatise on government, which was discovered in London, should be welcome to students of the period. It does not seem to have had any effect upon the policy of Charles II., with whom, by the way, the influence of Hyde had supplanted that of his old tutor. Moreover, the problem was perhaps too complicated for such a rough-and-ready application of common sense. But the conclusions are worth noting as those of a shrewd observer, with a truly English contempt for theory and acquainted with affairs in all their vicissitudes.

Hobbes, in his well-meant treatise on the motions of a horse, hardly appears to advantage. It is difficult to imagine what can have been the effect of such an irrelevant superfluity of reasoning upon the great horseman, who had convinced himself that "practice does everything in this world;" in fact, the sage on the high horse resembles the tailor in "Gulliver's Travels," who measured his man with the help of a sextant and other mathematical instruments.

The letters in Case IV. have been chosen to illustrate Harley's activity during the period of his greatest power. He shows real capacity in his exposition to Zinzendorff of the reasons which compelled the withdrawal of England from a war of which the burden had become ruinous, and which had reached a phase in which it only served Continental interests. Albion is always *perfidie* when she is not a simpleton, and this naturally vexed the Imperial Chancellor and Prince Eugène, who would doubtless have been better content with a statesman of our modern breed. The recently discovered letters of Prior have a high value, not historical only, but as a

pleasant sign of the footing of intimacy and cordiality on which Matt stood with his patron. They show, moreover, that he was a diplomatist in fact as well as in name, and that in momentous discussions his was a real and independent influence. The letters as a whole should be read side by side with those addressed to Harley on the same subject by John Drummond, published in the fifth volume of the Commissioners' Report.

The long letter from Swift in Case V. was published in Scott's Life; but as there are few specimens more characteristic of the writer's sinister genius, it seemed worth while to print an amended text with the answer of the second Earl of Oxford. Prior's Diary is a new discovery. It is unfortunately very incomplete; but even so it sheds not a few side-lights upon history, while the episode of his quarrel with the Duchess of Marlborough is a lively and finished picture.

The Welbeck Library is comparatively speaking poor in rare editions and fine bindings; but a few books have been collected in Case VI., such as either contain autographs or are otherwise interesting. They will be found to explain themselves.

It was a disappointment to the compiler to find that the correspondence of Mrs. Delany's Duchess had almost entirely disappeared. None of the immense mass of letters that must have been addressed to her seem to have survived, while of her own composition there are only a few of no great general interest addressed to her son, afterwards the third Duke, when a boy at Westminster school.

On the other hand, one of the most important of the discoveries that have recently been made at Welbeck is that of the political correspondence of the third Duke, which until quite recently was supposed and asserted to have been destroyed. The remaining three Cases, VII., VIII., and IX., are devoted to a selection from this correspondence.

The papers are exclusively political. There is nothing, for example, from Dr. Burney, who was often at Bulstrode, where he could freely discuss his favourite topic, not excepting the most recent developments of Haydn, with the Duke who was an accomplished amateur.

The Duke took his first steps in public life as a Rockingham Whig, under the fussy but benevolent supervision of the old Duke of Newcastle.

out of the abundance of whose almost daily effusions it was embarrassing to choose, and with the gigantic figure of the elder Pitt in full view on the opposite side.

2 The grant of the Forest of Inglewood is illustrated in detail. Its consequences seriously affected the Duke's financial situation; it concentrated the opposition of the Rockingham group to the otherwise and essentially objectionable Lord Bute; and it furnished some of his most resounding thunderbolts to Junius. In fact, so markedly did Junius make the Duke's cause his own, that the Duke himself, "one of the best letter-writers in England," was at one time suspected of being the substantial figure behind the *nominis umbra*.

The American war runs its inglorious course down to the death and funeral of Chatham, and the Rockingham Whigs, as becomes true friends to the enemy, mourn in concert over the ruins of their country.

Case VIII. contains a few letters of naval heroes that are shown as autographs, and what may seem to be a needlessly copious selection from the correspondence of George III. It seemed, however, worth while to show the extent and variety of the business which passed through the Duke's hands, and the cordiality and confidence with which he was regarded by the King. It will be noticed that it was the King's habit to date his letters to the minute; but readers of Wraxall will remember a psychological moment when this punctilio was omitted.

In Case IX. there are some autographs of the ladies—with the beautiful Duchess and another at the two extremes—who lend so much of its uniquely picturesque character to the stage of eighteenth-century politics. Mrs. Crewe's letter shows that no strength of attachment to the person of Fox prevented her from freely criticising his public conduct. Of the letters of Burke, the longest and weightiest has long since found its own place in the orator's published works; still as an autograph relic it seemed too important to omit. The long letter of condolence is conspicuous for the defects of Burke's qualities. He said, and said truly, of Reynolds, that he seemed to have descended upon portraiture from a higher plane. He himself might be said to have descended upon his topics from the empyrean, but with results that as literature and logic are not always

so happy as the splendid conventions of the painter. In the present case it is set forth with all the abundance of that "perpetual stream" that Providence, determined to chastise a backsliding and perverse generation, began by removing Lord Richard Cavendish!

The letters of William Pitt touch the main points of policy, but in the common style of business, and with no personal quality of thought or phrase.

In 1808 we take leave of the Duke of Portland, for the second time Prime Minister, but nominally rather than effectually at the head of affairs. The old Whig, who with Rockingham and Burke had lamented the eclipse of England's glory through the independence of America, is now the colleague of the man who was to call the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old.

My thanks are due, among others, to M. Paul Meyer, of the Ecole des Chartes, Paris; to my colleague, Professor Brandin; to Mr. Martin Hume; but above all to Mr. G. F. Warner, of the Department of MSS. in the British Museum, who made a thorough examination of the documents relating to the monastery of Titchfield, the full results of which I am permitted to use here.

S. A. S.

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¹ This was identified by the compiler in the Louvre, where it is called simply "portrait of a man." It is the sketch, probably all that the artist did from life, for the imposing full-dress portrait of the Earl at Welbeck, in which the peace envoy is represented in full armour, holding the bâton of command, with scarf blown out by fame, and invincible wig.

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I A TO D

ANCIENT CHARTERS

These are described in the second volume of the Calendar of the Portland MSS.
(*Historical MSS. Commission*), pp. 1 to 4.

I A 1

*Catalogue of the Library of TITCHFIELD ABBEY, co.
Southampton, in 1400, with other matter relating to the
abbey, viz. :*

1. "Forma librerie monasterij de Tychefeld est hec," etc. : description of the arrangement of the library, from which it appears that there were four cases (columpne), two on the east, one on the south and one on the north, each with eight shelves (gradus) distinguished by a letter and number, except in the case of certain letters which did not extend beyond a single shelf. The volumes were marked on the first leaf or outside with a letter and number, A.I, A.II, etc., being arranged in classes from A, the Bible, to Q, books in French. The first "columpna" contained A (1 "gradus") and B (7 "gradus"); the second C (3) and D (5); the third E (2), F (2), G (3), and H (1); and the fourth K-M (1 each), N (2), and O-Q (1 each). f. 1.

2. "Registrum librorum monasterij de tychefeld" : a cata-

logue of the library made at Michaelmas 1400, in the 10th year of Abbot John de Romesy. The number of volumes amounted to 224, but many of them included several separate works. At the end (without press-marks) is a separate list of 108 service-books and three copies of Premonstratensian Statutes. f. 2.

3. "*Progressus a monasterio de Tychefeld versus omnia et singula monasteria ordinis premonstratensium in anglia existencia*," etc.: itinerary, with stages and miles, between Titchfield and 29 other Premonstratensian houses in England. f. 82b.

4. "*Incipit status monasterij et maneriorum de Tychefeld in creacione diuersorum nouorum abbatum*": statements of horses, cattle, grain, etc., belonging to the abbey at the creation of Peter de Wynton, 8th abbot, 4 July, 1848, John Thorny, 10th abbot, 27 June, 1870, and John de Romsey, 11th abbot, 9 Nov. 1890. In the last two cases plate and jewels are also included. f. 44b.

5. "*Incipiunt acta circa munus benedictionis iohannis de romesy abbatis optinendum*": recognition by Abbot John de Romesy that the Bishop of Winchester is founder and patron of the abbey, followed by the bishop's benediction of him on 8 Dec. 1890, the expenses on the occasion, and the form of invitation to the abbot's entry. f. 46b.

6. "*Incipiunt acta in negotio de et super celebracione diuinorum in capella pretensa de Houke per unum presbiterum*," A.D. 1400: copies of documents in proceedings against one William Cake, priest, for celebrating service in a pretended chapel at Hook against the rights of Titchfield Abbey and the vicar of Titchfield. Bulls of Pope Boniface IX and letters, etc., of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester are included, together with the itinerary of the Abbey's agent when sent to Rome and an accompt of his expenses. f. 47b. At the end (f. 84b) is a colophon stating

that the collection comprises all acts on the subject between 1 April, 1404 and 1 April, 1405: followed (f. 85) by an alphabetical table of contents.

7. "Incipit procuracio archiepiscopi in diocesi Wyntoniensi uisitantis sede ibidem uacanti": record of the archbishop's visitation, by John Maydenethe, at Southwick, 25 Oct. 1404, in the vacancy of the see of Winchester, when the abbot of Titchfield paid for procuration on account of the churches of Lamere, Cornhampton and Tychefeld. f. 86b.

8. "Regula ad cognoscendum pro conuiuiis quot homines sedere possunt in qualibet aula monasterij de tychefeld," etc.: statement as to the number of guests who could be accommodated at table in the abbey, viz., 80 in the "Refectorium," 47 in the "Volta" and 62 in the "Infirmatorium." f. 87.

9. "Sequitur de diuersis literis": forms for letters on various occasions, in Latin and French, beginning with letters of credence. Many are of considerable interest. f. 87b.

10. Moral maxims, extracts from the Fathers, etc., in Latin. f. 100b.

Vellum, $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ inches; ff. 103. Articles 1 and 2 written in A.D. 1400, the rest in or soon after A.D. 1405. Quires 1-10 of 8 leaves, quires 11 and 12 of 10 leaves (the first leaf of No. 11 missing); with two extra leaves at the beginning (on the second of which is a table of contents) and two at the end. Quires marked by catch-words at the end; and leaves numbered in the lower margin in Arabic numerals, 1-100 (f. 81 missing), excluding the four extra leaves. Original binding of oak boards, with bevelled edges, sewn with leather thongs and covered with white skin, which, however, has been torn away from the upper cover. The thong-clasps are also lost. The linings of the covers are fragments of a large service-book of the fourteenth century.

I A 2

Register of TITCHFIELD ABBEY, co. Southampton, entitled in the heading to the Index (f. 216), "Rememoratorium de Tychefeld."

The contents, which begin with an account of the foundation of the abbey by Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, in 1288, include charters, records of pleas, perambulations, extents, customaries, inquisitions, taxations, royal and other letters in Latin and French, and miscellaneous matter relating to the abbey and its manors, ending with a list of abbots (without dates) brought down to John de Romessee (elected in 1390), but continued in various later hands to John (Maxey), Bishop of Elphin, abbot commendatory of Welbeck and Titchfield, who died in 1536.

Vellum, 12½ × 9 inches; ff. 224, with a fly-leaf at the beginning and end. The original part of the volume apparently ends with f. 67, the latest date mentioned being 1372. From this point the MS. is continued in hands of a different character; but, with the exception of the names of the later abbots and some insertions at the end written as late as 1559, the latest date appears to be 20 Rich. II. [1396-7], and the whole volume was probably written during the abbacy of John de Romsey, the posterior limit of which is not known. The Quires vary from 8 to 12 leaves, and are occasionally marked by catch-words. As far as f. lxxvi. the leaves are numbered in Roman, after that in Arabic, numerals. Original binding in oak boards, sewn with leather thongs and covered with sheepskin having overhanging flaps. Press-mark on the fly-leaf "P. x.," agreeing with the entry in the Catalogue of 1400 (see MS. I A 1).

I C 1

Lives of saints, chiefly English, in French verse: No. 4 in 5-line stanzas, No. 11 in quatrains, the rest in couplets. Written in England early in the fourteenth century. At the beginning is an inscription: "Cest liure est a Couent de Campisse," and at the end "ce liure de viseie a la priorie de kanpseie de lire a mengier;" proving that the book belonged to Campseye Nunnery, near Woodbridge, co. Suff., and that it was used there for reading at meal-times. The British Museum possesses one book (Arundel MS. 896) from the same library.

The Lives are as follows:

1. "La Vie de Seynte Elizabeth" [of Hungary]. Possibly by Nicol Bozon.

Beg. "Nouele rose de nostre uerger
A nous se moustra auaunt her."

Another copy is in Cotton MS. Domitian A. xi., ff. 99-101b.

2. "De Seynt Panuce."

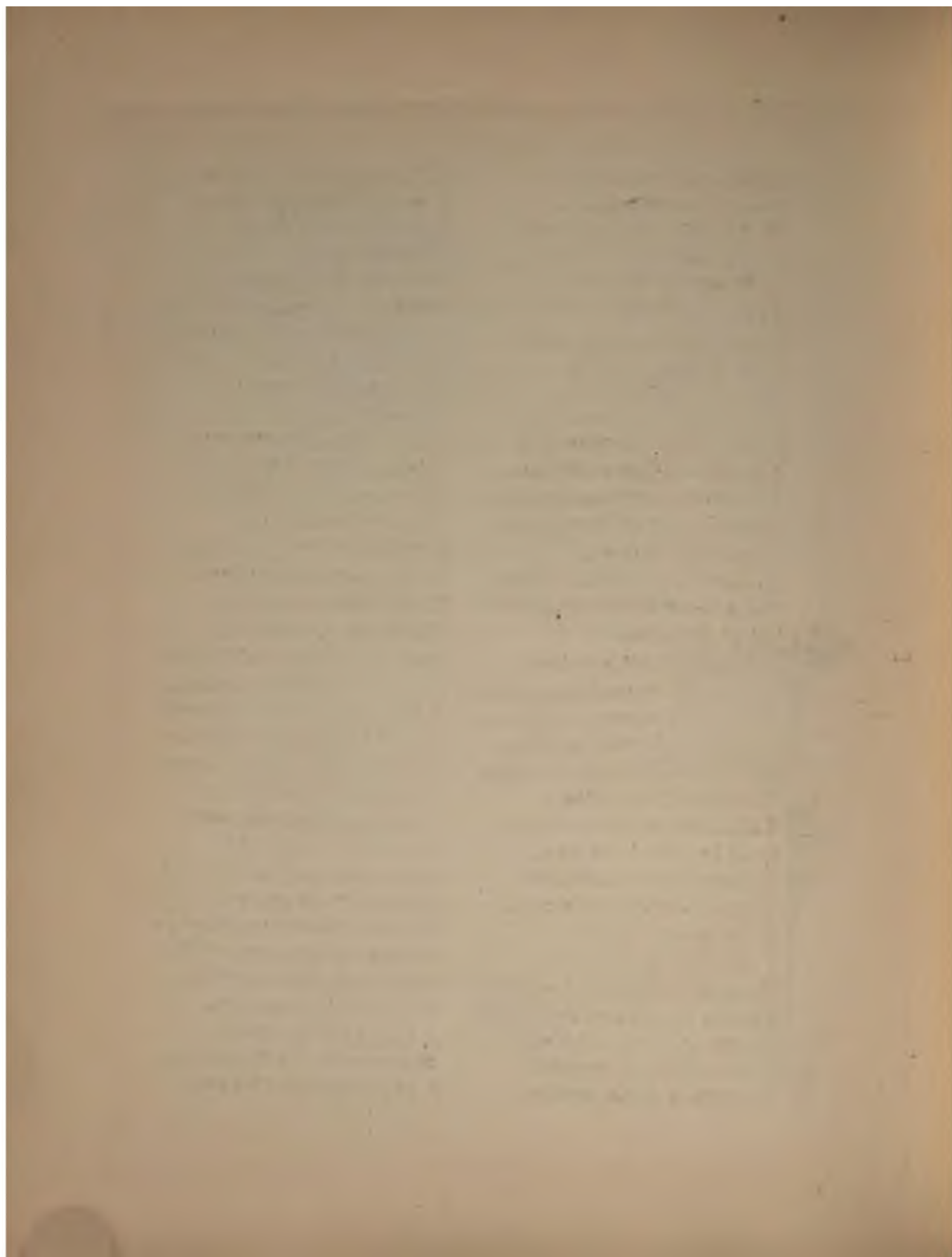
Beg. "Un seynt houm de religioun
Ke Panucius out a noun."

3. "La Vie de Seint Paule le Hermite."

Beg. "Le primer hermite ke ay trouee
Seint Pol le hermite est nomee."

4. [Life of St. Thomas of Canterbury, by Garnier de Pont S^{re} Maxence].

Imperfect at the beginning, wanting the first 138 lines. In



is nothing to show which of many possible Countesses of Arundel was the patroness.

8. "La Vie Sainte Audree, noneyne de Ely."

Beg. "En bon heure e en bon porpens
Deueroit chascun user son tens."

9. "La Vie Seinte Osith, virge e martire."

Beg. "Ceo nus mustre seinte escripture
Bon fu ki met en deu sa cure."

10. "La Vie Sainte Fey, virgine et martire."

Beg. "Seigniurs uous que en Deu creez
E en la fei estes fermeez."

11. "Le romanz de la vie Seinte Modwenne, noneyne."
In quatrains.

There is another MS. in the Bodleian (Digby). Extracts are printed in Suchier's *Ueber die Matthæus Paris Zugeschriebene Vie de S. Auban* (Halle, 1876).

Beg. "Oez Seigniurs pur Deu uus pri
Coment le mund ke ert peri."

Two quires have been transposed in this article, which is much the longest in the volume. At the end are an antiphon, versicle and prayer, in *Latin*, in commemoration of St. Modwenna.

12. "La Vie Seint Richard, euesque de Cycestre"
[d. 1258, canonised 1262, translated 1276]. In two books, Book ii. recounting miracles after his death. A translation of the Latin Life by Ralph Bocking, which was written *circ.* 1270, and is printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* for April 8.

Beg. "Bon est de mettre en escrit
Vrai cunte de fet et dit."

18. "La Vie Sainte Katerine." By Clemence, a nun of Barking in Essex. There are two MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which have both been edited by Jarnik (Prague, 1894).

Beg. "Cil que le bien set et entent
Demustrer le deit sagement."

At the beginnings of Nos. 6, 8, 9, 11, 12 and 18 are initials in gold and colours, enclosing miniatures of the saints.

I C 8

Satirical drawing in pen and ink on a fragment of vellum evidently taken from the binding of a book.

Two tonsured ecclesiastics advance one behind the other towards a mitre which is held out by a hand and arm labelled *domina mea*. A fool puts out his tongue at them. Underneath is the legend:—

*Me miserum quid agam [dudum] jam præterit ætas
Ad patriam remeare meam me cogit egestas.*

The handwriting seems to point to the end of the fourteenth century.

I C 4

Allegorical diagram or chart of Christian doctrine. Drawn in the twelfth century, probably by a Flemish hand. Bordering the chart on one side there are the following explanatory verses:

PASSPORT OF WILLIAM BENTINCK 9

He regis nate sunt mentis sede locate
Per quas irrores nos Christe tuendo sorores
O felix anima que non descendit ad ima
Ut facie celi pociatur luce fideli
Virgineus cetus perdulci carmine letus
Gaudet in eternum regem speculando supernum
Hoc nobis dona sanctorum Christe corona
Sedibus etherneis quo sociemur eis.
Amen.

I D 1

Calendar of the muniments and charters of Godsfield, Baddesley, Rownhams, and other manors in co. Southampton. Compiled in 1888 by William Hulles, hospitaller of S. John of Jerusalem, and preceptor of Baddesley.¹

II A 1

Passport of William Bentinck,² signed by the Prince of Orange, and countersigned by C. Huygens.³ 10 June 1677.

¹ The preceptory of Knights Templars at Baddesley was founded about the latter end of the twelfth century. At the suppression of the order Edward II. granted this preceptory with its appurtenances to the knights hospitallers of Jerusalem. Warner's *Hampshire*, i. 43.

² Bentinck (afterwards Earl of Portland) was sent to England to negotiate the marriage between the Prince and the eldest daughter of the Duke of York (afterwards Mary II.).

³ Sir Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687), secretary to the Prince of Orange, and father of the illustrious astronomer Christiaan Huygens.

II A 2

Proclamation drawn up for William III. on the eve of his expedition to England. This is probably the paper to which Burnet alludes: "The prince ordered letters to be writ in his name, inviting both the soldiers, seamen, and others, to come and join with him, in order to the securing their religion, laws, and liberties."

*To all COMMANDERS OF SHIPS, and all SEAMEN that are
now imployed in the English Fleet.*

GENTLEMEN AND FRIENDS,

Our right Trusty and well beloved Admirall Herbert¹ is fully instructed by Us: and therefore We expect that you will give an entire credit to every thing that he shall say to you in our name: We have prepared a declaration containing the reasons that induce Us to undertake the present Expedition, in which Wee have no other designe but the preservation of the Protestant Religion and the Restoring of the Lawes and Liberties of England. The totall ruine of your Religion being as much designed by the Papists in England as it is already accomplished in France, and it will as certainly be effected if they are able to prevaile at this time.

Wee cannot beleeeve, but that you must be already sensible that you are only made use of as Instruments to bring both your selves and your Countrey under Popery and Slavery by the means both of the Irish and the Foreigners who are preparing to compleat your destruction: and therefore—Wee hope that God will put it in your hearts at this time to

¹ Arthur (Herbert), Earl of Torrington (1647–1716), Admiral of the Fleet. After a long career of active service he was tried by court-martial for his failure in action against the French fleet off Beachy Head in 1689, and, though acquitted on all charges, was deprived of his command.

MR. DE BENTINCK'S INSTRUCTION 11

redeeme your selves, your Countrey and your Religion from all those miseries. This, in all humane appearance, can only be done by your coming now to assist Us, who are labouring for your deliverance. And wee doe assure you that Wee will be ever mindfull of the services that you shall now doe Us: and wee promise to you that wee will place particular marks of our favour on all those who will upon this occasion deserve well of US and of the Nation. Wee are, with all sincerity,

Your truely welwishing
and affectionnate friend

G. PRINCE D'ORANGE.

*Given at our Court at Dieren the
29th day of September 1688.*

II A 8

*Instruction pour M^r DE BENTINCK allant en Angletere
le 4. de Juillet 1685.¹*

- (1) Que j'ay cru estre de mon devoir de l'envoyer en cette rancontre, pour offrir au Roy tout ce qui servit en mon pouvoir pour son assistance.
- (2) Que je suis prest a venir servir sa Maj.^{te} en personne s'il le trouve utile a son service.
- (3) S'il a besoin de Generaus ou autres offitiers icy que je les enverres.
- (4) Que je ne doute pas que jeudi ou vendredi les Estats consentiront que les trois Reg.^{tes} Englois pouront estre envoies, et que je les faires parti incessament.

¹ The time of Monmouth's rising.

DECLARATION OF JAMES II.

- (5) Si je dois venir en Angleterre comment regle les Ceremonies entre le Pr: de Dennemarck et moy.
- (6) Si je dois venir, represente au Roy et Ministres qu'il est necessaire que la Princesse reste icy pour les raisons cognues.
- (7) Informe le Roy de l'Estat des affaires icy.
- (8) Tacher a savoir du Roy et de ces Ministres, en cas que la rebellion soit assopie ce que je pourrais attendre de sa Maj.^{te} si mes ennemis en ce Pais me pousoit a des extremities.
- (9) Parle au Ministres de mes interests particuliers a l'eguardt de ce que la France tien mon bien.
- (10) S'informe des mesures que l'on tiendra en Angleterre si la Rebellion est etiente a l'eguardt des affaires etrangeres, et entre autre les pretentions de la France au Palatinat.

II A 4

Copy of the same in the handwriting of the Earl of Portland.

II B 1

Declaration of King James II. Given at St. Germanies en Laye, April 17th S. N. 1698. And in the Ninth Year of our Regin.

"All the frute the King reap'd from this declaration was blame from his friends, contempt from his enemies, and repentance in himself; which instead of reconciling the

DUKE OF PORTLAND'S INSTRUCTIONS 18

Protestants at home alienated Catholick Princes abroad." Clarke, *Life of James II.*, ii. 511.

Evelyn notes (14 May 1693): "A declaration or manifesto from K. James, so written that many thought it reasonable, and much more to the purpose than any of his former."

II B 2

Instructions secretes pour le CONTE DE PORTLAND allant en France Ambas:^d Extraord^s.¹

Il aura a assurer le Roy tres Chr: de mon amitie et de L'envie toute particuliere que j'ay de vivre dans une parfaite et estroite Union avec luy et que j'y contribueres de mon coste tout ce qui dependra de moy esperant qu'il fera de mesme et de tacher reciproquement de prevenir ou auter tous les obstacles qui pouroient empesche cette Union et bonne intelligence.

Et pour cet effet il aura a sonder s'il n'y auroit pas moien de trouver des expediens pour prevenir une geurre que la mort du Roy d'Espagne sans enfans pouroit causer.

Il aura aussi de faire toute les diligences possibles pour obliger le Roy T: C: de faire sortir de ces Royaumes le Roy Jaques et sa famille, ou du moins les faire eloigner de sa Cour et des costes de la mer le plus qu'il se pourra.

Et sur tous les conspirateurs contre ma vie.

A KENSINGTON ce 8 de Janv: 1698.

¹ In the handwriting of William III.

II B 8

Open instructions signed and initialled by the King of a more general and formal nature.

II B 4

Draft of an Address to LOUIS XIV. in the Handwriting of the EARL OF PORTLAND.

SIRE

Le Roy de la Gr^e Bret mon maitre menvoye a V M^{te} dans cette occasion pour la feliciter de lheureuse conclusion de la Paix, et pour lui temoigner la ioye quil en a, puis quelle restablit lunion entre les nations, mais particulierement parce quelle pose le fondement dune bonne intelligence entre V M^{te} et elle.

La longue guerre quil a esté obligé de soutenir contre vostre Maj.^{te} et qui a fait gemir toutte lEurope ne lui a pas fait plus de peine, que le malheur quil a eu malgré lui de ce voir opposé au Roy du monde pour qui il a tousjours eu la plus haute estime et veneration et dont il a admiré tousjours les grandes qualitez.

Le Roy mon maistre se fie si fort sur les assurances que V M^{te} lui a fait donner de son estime, et de son amitié quil sen fait une satisfaction tres grande et puisque ces interets ne sont plus opposez aux Vostres, Sire, il ma ordonne de lasseur que comme durant la guerre il a esté obligé dagir en veritable ennemi qu'asseure qu'elle est heureusement finie, il tachera de

son costé de rendre la Paix ferme et solide, et quil satisfera non seulement a tout ce que V M^{te} peut attendre dun bon et fidelle ami et allié, mais quil se fera un plaisir tres particulier de lui donner constamment des marques essentielles de sa veneration, et de cette estime quil a pour sa personne, et ses qualitez esclattantes qui lui attirent si evidament ladmiration de toute la Chrestienté, comme cette lettre dont je suis chargé, le lui temoignera.

Sire iay une ioye infinie de ce que le Roy mon maistre a iette les ieux sur moy pour un employ si honorable qui me donne loccasion de me mettre ausprets de vostre Maj:^{te}, et de travailler a laffermissement de cette union, si necessaire pour le repos de lEurope, peut estre que parmi tous ces subjets il nauroit peu trouver personne qui n'en fust plus capable mais qui que ce soit ne me surpassera en zele et bonne volonte ni en respect et soumission pour vostre Maj:^{te} que je suplie tres humblement davoir la bonté de m'agreer, dans lassurance que je feray tout mon possible pour meriter ces graces et ces bontez.

This was evidently prepared by the Earl of Portland for delivery on the occasion of presenting his credentials as ambassador extraordinary to Louis XIV., in 1698.

H C 1

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND.

WHITEHALL *May ye 10th*

MY LORD,

I give your Lord^{sh} this trouble not so much from the Importunity of the bearer, as that I think my self oblig'd to

say something in my own Justification having recommended him to his Ma.^{ty} service. It seems your Lord^{sh} has been inform'd (I know not by whom) that he has stolen money and other things from me. I thought when I had the honor to speak to you about him at London, I had sufficiently clear'd him as to that, and now repeat what I sayd then to your Lord^{sh} that I take this to be a great aspersion vpon him, never having known him guilty of any thing of that nature. I hear his Ma.^{ty} is not ill satisfy'd with his shaving, which was the onely thing I recommended him for, but had not presum'd to have done that, if I had thought him a man of such a character. Your Lord^{sh} may please to dispose of him as you think fitt, but in clearing me to the King in this particular, you will both do a Justice and favour to

My Lord

Your L^{ty}
most obedient
humble servant
DEVONSHIRE.¹

II C 2

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY² *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND.

EVFORD, 10 Nouemb. 1696.

MY LORD

I have iust now received advice, which very much confirms what I have apprehended for some time ; That there are fresh

¹ William (Cavendish), first Duke of Devonshire (1640-1707), famous for his exertions in the cause of the revolution. Macaulay writes: "In wealth and influence he was second to none of the English nobles; and the general voice designated him as the finest gentleman of his time."

² Charles (Talbot), twelfth Earl and Duke of Shrewsbury, called by

designs both upon the Kings person, and to invade the Kingdome. Lett us take care of the first, and the 2^d I hope will not be in danger. The account I have, is, that S^r Geo: Berkley is certainly in England, that he lately writt over for a ship to carry him off, but was bid to stay, and observe orders; and that K: Jam: hoped to be here soon; that S^r Geo: with some few of those, who were to attempt the assasination the last time,¹ and still remaine in England, are now againe ordered to vndertake it; That Mr. Carryl² has lately writt to a Correspondent here, to give no credit to the Peace, but be assured he should see him soon. For God sake my L^d begg of the King to take care of himself, and lett him know this comes from a hand that I can depend on; I will endeavour to learn more particulars; care should be taken to put the Winter squadron in a good posture for I am confident when Cha: Renauaud comes back to Brest, and Pontis Squaⁿ is ready, with the other ships that are fitting at Rochfort and els where, they hope to be Masters for some time of the Sea. . . .

I am

My L^d

Your Lo^{ps}

most obedient and faithfull
servant

SHREWSBURY.

William III. "the King of Hearts." Born in 1660, he was a warm supporter of the Prince of Orange in 1688. In 1713 he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He died in 1718.

¹ That is, Sir George Barclay's plot, which miscarried, in February of this year, and to which Evelyn alludes (26 Feb.): "There was now a Conspiracy of about 30 Knights, Gentlemen, Captains, many of them Irish and English Papists and Nonjurors or *Jacobites* (so call'd), to murder K. William on the first opportunity of his going either from Kensington, or to hunting, or to the Chapel, and upon signal of fire to be given from Dover Cliff to Calais, an Invasion was design'd."

² See note on II D 2.

II C 8

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

WHITEHALL 27 July 1697.

MY LORD

I have received your Lo^{ps} of the 1st with the enclosed articles dictated by the Mar: de Boufflers, by which I perceive matters in dispute between the King our Master, and the King of France, are in a great measure adjuſted; I hope the Allys will ſome way or other be prevailed with, to be reaſonable on their parts, and when they conſider what a ſhare of the expence Eng: & Holland bear in the Warr, allow them to be the beſt Judges when it is time to put an end to it. The Article ſeemes very ſtrongly worded to prevent the K: of France's fomenting any private Rebellions, as well as aſſiſting in an open Invaſion of theſe Kingdomes, and the words, *that he will not diſturb the K. of Gre: Brittain in the poſſeſſion of his Kingdomes* &c. can onely relate to our preſent King, yet ſince out of decency they make a difficulty to name King James, in which, impartially ſpeaking, they appeare to have reaſon, I ſee no obiectiō why they might not name the King, by name, William the 3^d King of Gr: Brittain, which would, more vnqueſtionably take away any vnreaſonable cavill, that might hereafter be made, that by the K. of Gre: Brittain, King James was onely meant. . . .

I muſt further obſerve that there is no care taken in this Article, to remove King James to ſome further diſtance then Paris, I imagine the King of France will not think it proper or decent for himſelf, that he ſhould live at S^t Germans, or in that neighbourhood, whiſt our King has an Ambaſſadour at

the French Court, but I am sure it would be a very dangerous consequence to the Kings affaires here, that King James should be permitted to live in any place so near these Kingdomes, that letters and messages might frequently pass, and that Persons of Consideration might have pretences of going where they would have opportunitys of discussing with him without its being visible y^t that was their errand, to be convinced of the consequence of this, one need but reflect, on the advantage the present King, when Pr: of Orange made, of such a free Intercourse, as was then between London & the Hague. . . .

I am

my L^d

your Lo^{ps}

most faithfull & obedient
servant

SHREWSBURY.

E: OF PORTLAND.

This letter refers to the negotiations that preceded the peace of Ryswyk concluded on September 10 of this year.

MACAULAY writes: "William's first demand was that France should bind herself to give no help or countenance, directly or indirectly, to any attempt which might be made by James, or by James's adherents, to disturb the existing order of things in England. William's second demand was that James should no longer be suffered to reside at a place so dangerously near to England as Saint Germaines. To the first of these demands Lewis replied that he was perfectly ready to bind himself by a covenant drawn in the most solemn form not to assist or countenance, in any manner, any attempt to disturb the existing order of things in England; but that it was inconsistent with his honour that the name of his kinsman and guest should appear in such a covenant. To the second demand Lewis replied that he could not refuse his hospitality to an unfortunate King who had taken refuge in his dominions, and that he could not promise even to indicate a wish that James would quit Saint Germaines."



other Arguments, not to trouble y^r L^p wth all they sayd, they told us that formerly, particularly in Queen Elizabeths reign, she had attempted to grant this mannour to the then Earle of Leicester, that it had occasion'd 2 or 3 rebellions in Wales from the oppositions of y^e Gentlemen of the Country & at last the Crown had always been obliged to resume it again, before they could bee quieted; upon this occasion, I mean, in speaking to this point, they used many high expressions, which I am unwilling to repeat, as I was indeed to heare, if I could have help'd it, and upon the whole matter, since y^r L^p is pleased to ask my opinion, I will tell you sincerely as if it were my own brother that I think it unadviseable, as well as very difficult, for you to proceed any farther upon this Grant, at present, or perhaps, at any time hereafter till the King shall think fitt to heare the objections himselfe, which those Gentlemen of Wales & of the borders have against it, & if after that his Ma:^{ty} shall think fitt to give any farther directions in it; his Com^{ds} will meet wth a ready obedience in the Treasury, & (as I beleive) find much less opposition from the Country when they shall be satisfyed that the King has personally heard all they have to represent upon this subject. This is truly my opinion, and soe I would proceed my selfe if it were my own Case. I beg y^r L^{ps} favorable acceptance of it, & to beleive mee wth much respect, my Lord y^r L^{ps} most humble & most obedient Serv^t.

GODOLPHIN.

E: OF PORTLAND.

"In 1695 he [William] ordered the Lords of the Treasury to make out a warrant granting to Portland a magnificent estate in Denbighshire . . . with the property were inseparably connected extensive royalties, which the people of North Wales could not patiently see in the hands of any subject. More than a century before Elizabeth had bestowed a part of the same territory on her favourite Leicester. On that occasion the population of Denbighshire had

risen in arms, and, after much tumult and several executions, Leicester had thought it advisable to resign his mistress's gift back to her. The opposition to Portland was less violent, but not less effective. Some of the chief gentlemen of the principality made strong representations to the ministers through whose offices the warrant had to pass, and at length brought the subject under the consideration of the Lower House. An address was unanimously voted requesting the King to stop the grant; Portland begged that he might not be the cause of a dispute between his master and the Parliament; and the King, though much mortified, yielded to the general wish of the nation."—MACAULAY.

II C 5

LORD SOMERS¹ to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

LOND. 11 May 1697.

. . . .

In case I should proceed to perfect a Grant of several Particular Rents to mee, to the Value mentioned in the Kings Warrant, & some of those Rents should hereafter prove good, & others not so, (of w^{ch} later sort I am sure the greater part will be) whether it be vnderstood by yo^r L^{dp}, that I should enjoy such as are effectual; or must convey them to you, to make vp what has not proved effectual of y^e Rents Granted to yo^r L^{dp}.

If the first of these things be meant, it is all I pretend to. & it is what I thought was intended by the King. But if

¹ John, Lord Somers (1651-1716), Attorney-General (1692), Lord Keeper of the Great Seal (1692-3), and Lord Chancellor (1697). This letter probably refers to the royal manors of Ryegate and Howlegh in Surrey, which were granted to him at the time (1697) of his elevation to the peerage as Baron Somers of Evesham. "He was at once a munificent and a severely judicious patron of genius and learning. Locke owed opulence to Somers. By Somers Addison was drawn forth from a cell in a college."—MACAULAY.

after the great charge I must be at in passing y^e Grant, & the much greater charge in gratifying the persons I must employ to assist mee, & the trouble of soliciting & being obliged (w^{ch} are to mee the most vneasy things in the world) I am to grant anything w^{ch} I may happen to get towards making satisfaction for what is defective in yo^r L^{dps} prior Grant I am sure it is better for mee to desist immediately, & to rest contented wth the expense & trouble I have bin at already, rather then to take the Name of a Bounty w^{ch} in the end is to produce nothing for mee but Charge & trouble.

II C 6

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND¹ to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

5 April, 1699.

. . .

What ever can contribute to the good humour of those who wish well should be done, and what ever will renew or occasion any kind of dissatisfaction should be avoided. If the K. goes into Holland² it will create a great deale of dislike and men will conclude he can not beare the being in England when it is possible for him to help it but if he stay's heer and will let it be understood that he does it for our security, being naked as wee are, though his affaires abroad doe almost

¹ Robert (Spencer), second Earl of Sunderland (1640–1702), who, as Protestant, Catholic, and Protestant again, served Charles II., James II., and William with consistent ability and treachery. Burnet says of him: "In order to the supporting himself he changed sides often with little regard either to religion or the interest of his country."

² The King was absent in Holland from May 31 to October 18 of this year.

necessarily require his presence, it will have this effect, that if there is no attempt made vpon vs it will be attributed to his care, and will be the best argument to convince honest men of what they ought to doe. . . .

II C 7

THE BISHOP OF EXETER¹ *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND.

. . . I heare I haue been so unhappy to be misrepresented as not forward enough in His Maj:^{ty} interest (which is a gross calumny, & such as I am sure I should not haue met with had I been in y^e place to justify myself) yet it is greate satisfaction to me that I am perswaded His Maj:^{ty} entertaines no such thoughts of me by the fauors already conferr'd, & by His intentions of futur kindnesse to our family, in one word, my Lord, I am a person where my mouth & my heart goes together, & therefore beg you to assure His Maj:^{ty} that He shal command me in all things wherein I may be any way seruiceable to His Maj:^{ty} in person, or Royal Gouvernment; & I may with some confidence assure His Maj:^{ty} that what soeuer party there may have been return'd to Him as remaining to the late King James in Cornwall that there are infinitely so many more persons who I am sure will be on all occasions ready to joyn me that His Maj:^{ty} interest shall neuer suffer in the least there. . . .

EXETER

April 22

¹ Sir Jonathan Trelawney (1650-1721), Bishop of Bristol (1685), was accused and acquitted of "seditious libel" with the rest of the Seven Bishops in 1688. His preferment to the see of Exeter was due to James II.; but was confirmed by William in 1689. In 1707 he was translated to Winchester. The letter is undated; but it probably belongs to the year 1691 when a French descent upon the coast of Cornwall was apprehended.

II C 8

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY¹ *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND,
recommending for the Deanery of York :

. . . Particularly D^r Gale² scholem^r of S. Pauls who is a Yorkshireman, a very learned person, one who has alwaies bin in his majesties Interests, & who is recovering for y^e crown a living in Yorkshire long kept from jt. The privacie & speed w^{ch} this matter requires has drawⁿ this trouble upon y^r Lp. . . .

THO : CANTUAR : Lambeth April 30 1697.

¹ Thomas Tenison (1636-1715), author of "The Creed of Mr. Hobbes examined," was described by Evelyn as "one of the most profitable preachers in the Church of England." He preached the funeral sermon of Nell Gwynne. A warm supporter of the Revolution, he was appointed (in 1691) to the Bishopric of Lincoln, and in 1695 he succeeded Tillotson as Archbishop of Canterbury. He attended the deathbed of Queen Mary, and crowned Queen Anne and George I.

² Thomas Gale (1635[?]-1702), Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge (1666), and afterwards (1672) High Master of S. Paul's School, where he had among his pupils the illustrious Edmund Halley. In 1697 he was appointed to the Deanery of York. It was Gale who, by order of William III., composed the inscription for the Monument of London which, "like a tall bully, lifts the head and lies."

II C 9

LD. HALIFAX¹ to the EARL OF PORTLAND.

19 Feb. 1707.

. . . .

The great changes that have been of late were as new, as surprizing and as unexpected to Me, and some other of your friends here, as they were to your Lordship at Bulstrode. How our great men came on a sudain to proceed to extremitys against a man, for whom they had such kindnesse and Partialitys before, is a mistery to us. Whether they were jealous of Him, as their Rival in favour, or convinced at last, of that, which every body else saw long a goe, is what I can not determine: all I know is, that your Friends had no hand in it, unlesse their not having so much submission to the Court this year as formerly, made the ministers more sensible how little assistance, those sort of gentlemen gave them in carrying on their bus'nesse. While by an universal complaisance all things went on smoothly, and the most difficult affairs were made easy, M^r H.² had opportunity of making it

¹ Charles (Montagu), Earl of Halifax (1661-1715), the friend of Newton, and joint author with Matthew Prior of "The Country Mouse and the City Mouse." In 1694 he framed the Bill which established the Bank of England. He was created Earl of Halifax in 1714. The letter reflects the feeling of distrust and suspicion of Harley which had been gradually growing, especially on the part of Godolphin and Marlborough, and which led to Harley's resignation in the following year.

² Stichel writes (*Bolingbroke*, i. p. 196): "But there was a more secret cause of Harley's withdrawal. Both Marlborough and Godolphin were at this time endeavouring to hatch some plan for the restoration of the Pretender, and Harley, it would seem, refused to connive, and so 'lost his good opinion of them,' and was 'left out of their scheme.'"

beleived He did every thing, and at last I beleive, our great men, found, He did nothing for them, but play'd a double game for him selfe; and then they saw there was a necessity to get rid of Him; this step has once more united all the Whigs in the House of Commons, and if right measures are taken they may be kept together, but whether some people have steadinesse, and Resolution enough to manage this as it ought to be, will be seen in a little time. . . .

II D 1

A MON FILS ET NEVEU LE PRINCE D'ORANGE.

MON FILS ET NEVEU

J'ay trouvé à propos de vous envoyer le Marquis de Halifax, le Comte de Nottingham et milord Godolphin pour ajuster avec Vous les points necessaires touchant l'Assemblée du Parlement, que j'ay convoqué, et pour lever tous les obstacles qui pourroient empêcher un accommodement; ils Vous exposeront plus amplement ce que je leur ay ordonné auxquels vous donnerez entiere Creance, en ce qu'ils vous diront de ma part, et particulièrement quand ils vous asseureront de ma disposition sincere à l'Etablissement d'une paix ferme et solide

Je suis
Mon fils et Neveu
Votre affectionne Pere
et Oncle

JACQUES R
Middleton¹

AU PRINCE D'ORANGE.

DE WHITEHALL ce 1^r Dec^r 1688.

¹ Charles, second Earl of Middleton (1640?-1719), Secretary of State.

II D 2

*French translation of the Memoirs of JAMES II., with a
note by his Queen, MARY OF MODENA.*

Nous auons fait examiner les Memoires cy dessus du feu Roy Jacques second de la Grande Bretagne notre Seigneur et Epoux de glorieuse memoire par des personnes dignes de foy, et en qui nous auons entière confiance, qui les ont trouués conformes en tout aux Memoires Originaux Anglois ecripts de la propre main de sa Majesté qui sont conserués dans les Archives du College des Ecossois a Paris. Ce que Nous auons bien voulu certifier et attester pour seruir ou besoin sera. En foy de quoy Nous auons signé ces presentes et fait contresigner par le Secretaire de nos Commandements et y auons fait apposer le sceau de nos armes. A s^t Germain en Laye ce 14^e Novembre 1704



MARIA R.

Par sa Majesté

Caryll.¹

Burnet writes: — "The King now sent for all the Lords in town, that were known to be firm Protestants. . . . All agreed in one opinion, that it was fit to send commissioners to the Prince to treat with him. This went much against the King's own inclinations: yet the dejection he was in, and the desperate state of his affairs, forced him to consent to it. So the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Nottingham, and the Lord Godolphin, were ordered to go to the Prince, and to ask him what it was that he demanded."

¹ John Caryll (1625-1711), English agent at the Court of Rome (1685-6); afterwards secretary to the Queen Mary of Modena. After the death of James II. in 1701 he was created Baron Caryll of Dunford by the Pretender.

II E 1

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH *to the* EARL OF PORTLANDST ALBANS 17 *Sept.* [1695].MY L^p

This trouble is occasion'd to your L^p by a report we have that the pacquett boate is lost which went from Harwich with the L^{res} of the 8^d instant, the Princesse having written one of that date to the King to congratulate his Ma^{ty}'s good succeſſe in the taking of Namur,¹ and being apprehensive her letter may have bene lost with that pacquett, and that the King may not have received the marks of her concern & satisfaction for that great honour & advantage to his Ma^{ty}'s, has comanded me to enclose to your L^p a duplicate of her L^{re} of the 8^d desiring the favour of you, to give it to the King, in case the former has bene lost, & in case you find he has had itt alredy, to spare his Ma^{ty} that trouble. your L^p will give me leave to take this opportunity of assuring you, of my being

My L^d

Your Lordships
obedient humble servant
MARLBOROUGH.

¹ "Thursday, 29 Aug.—This morning Mr. Fry the messenger arrived at Whitehal with an expresse from the King, with the good news of the surrender of the castle of Namur." Luttrell. The defence was conducted with great skill and bravery by the Marshal Duc de Boufflers.

II E 2

*To the EARLE OF PORTLAND att the Hague.*¹

SEFELINGEN Augt. 28th 1704.

MY LORD

I am very much obliged to your Lord^{sh} for the favour of your Letter, and tho I doubt not but you will doe me the Justice to believe that my chief aim is to serve the Publick, yet I must own it as a particular satisfaction to me to have the approbation of my friends in my just endeavours, which God has blest with so signal a Victory² over our Common enemy, that I flatter myself thay will not recover the Blow in some years, for we find by the letters we have intercepted of the Enemys going to Paris, that thay all own their loose to be above forty thousand men. the troupes under my command has been march'd these three days towards the Rhin, but I have been desir'd to stay for the finishing a treaty with the Electoris for the giving vp of Ulm, and the rest of the Garrison, if this treaty dose not succeed we shal then leave Mon^r Thungen to carry on the siege,³ the reducing of this place being of the last consequence for the security of these Countryes.

I recon we shal be with the Army on the Rhin by the

¹ A copy of this letter, dated August 27, is published, from the Duke's letter-book, in the first volume of the Marlborough despatches (ed. Murray, 1845), p. 435. It is shorter and differently worded.

² The battle of Blenheim, fought on the 13th August.

³ Ulm was taken this year by General Thungen.

My Lord

1439
Bielefeld Aug. 23.

I am very much oblig'd to Your Lordship
for the favour of Your letter, and tho' I doubt
not but you will do me the Justice to believe
that my chief aim is to serve the Publick
yet I must own it as a particular satisfaction
to me to have the approbation of my friends
in my just endeavours, which God has best
with so signal a Victory over our Common
Enemy, that I flatter my self they will
not recover the Blow in some Years for
we find by the letters we have intercepted
of the Enemy's going to Paris, that they are
now their loose to be above forty thousand
men & troops under my Command has been
march'd these three days towards the
Rhin, but I have been desir'd to stay for

able to promote so good a work, I shall be always glad to receive, and follow your advice, being with great truth

My Lord

Your Lordships
most faithfull
humble servant

MARLBOROUGH.

Menin will be invested to morrow by General Salish.

II E 4

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND

HELCIN ce 30^e Aoust 1706.

MY LORD

Je viens vous remercier tres humblement de l'honneur de vos obligentes felicitations sur la pris de Menin,¹ vous saves deja que pendant que nous sommes obligés a rester icy pour donner le tems a nos gens a combler nos ouvrages et reparer les breches, nous avons fait marcher un detachement a Termonde,² pour voir si la secheresse nous donnera jour a attaquer cette place, apres qu'oi si nous pouvons trouver des munitions suffisants, nous nous attacherons au siege d'Ath,³ avec quoi on pourra finir la Campagne.

Je ne suis pas informe au just de l'estate de la negociation ⁴

¹ The fortress of Menin, one of Vauban's masterpieces, surrendered on the 23rd August, and on the same day Marlborough wrote to the Queen announcing the event.

² Dendermonde in the copy.

³ Ath surrendered on the 2nd October.

⁴ This apparently refers to the negotiation for the union with Scotland.

de my L^d Hallifax, mais je vous avoue que Je souhaitterois fort pour nostre Interest Commune quelle se fut terminé de mellieure grace. J'espere que nous entendrons bientost parler de nostre descente, pourvu que les gros vents n'y aient point porté d'empechement.

Je vous prie Mon^{re} de faire bien des compliments de ma part a my Lady Portland,¹ Je souhaitterois qu'elle eut la bonté de laisser la tapisserie chez Mon^{re} Stanhope,² puisque Je ne scaurois m'enservir pour le comparer avec ce qui se fait a Bruxelles, jusques apres la Campagne. Je vous souhaite a tous deux un heureux voyage, et suis avec beacoupe de verité

My Lord

Vostre tres humble et
tres obeissant serviteur

LE PR. ET DUC DE MARLBOROUGH.

II E 5

A MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE PORTLAND a *La Haye*³

AU CAMP DE WERVICK ce 6^e Aoust 1708.

MY LORD

Je suis trop persuadé de vostre Zeale pour le bien public pour douter de la sincerité de la Joye que vous a Causé la nouvelle de la victoire,⁴ dont le bon Dieu a beni les Armes

¹ The Dowager Baroness Berkeley of Stratton, the second—possibly the third—wife of the Earl of Portland (*Complete Peerage*, vi. p. 272).

² The Hon. Alexander Stanhope, son of the first Earl of Chesterfield, envoy extraordinary to the States-General.

³ No copy of this letter appears in the Marlborough despatches.

⁴ The battle of Oudenarde, fought on the 11th July, 1708.

des hauts Allyes, et vous m'aviez donné tant de marque de Vostre amittié, que je ne suis moines sensible a la part que Vous prenes si obligeamment a ce qui m'y regarde en particulier, J'espere que cet heureux success aura d'ens peu des suites dont toute L'Europe ressentira les bons effects, Je Vous felicite a mon tour sur Vostre heureux arrivée en Holande, et suis tres sincerement

My L^d

Vostre tres humble et
tres obeissant serviteur

LE PR. ET DUC DE MARLBOROUGH.

Je vous prie de faire mes Compliments a Madame la Countesse de Portland.

II E 6

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND.

Oct: the 7th 1709.

MY LORD

I have receiv'd the honour of Your Lord^{sh} letter of the 18th past, which brings me the good news of your safe arrival in England, I heartily rejoyce at it, and at the same time return you many thanks for your obliging congratulations on our late Successes,¹ which I hope will produce the happy effects all good men expect from them, where in I know we have your Lord^{sh} sincere wishes, neither shall my best endeavours ever be

¹ Tournay surrendered to Marlborough on the 28th of July, and on the 11th of September the "very murdering battle" of Malplaquet was fought.

wanting, I must entreat you to assure Lady Port: of my respects, and believe me trully,

My Lord

Your Lordshipe
most obedient
humble servant
MARLBOROUGH

II F 1

MARSHAL TALLARD *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND.

A NOTTINGHAM *ce* 18^e *de may* 1707.

MONSIEUR

Lon ne peut estre plus sensible que Je le suis aux dernieres marques que vous aués bien uoulu me donner de lhonneur de vostre Souuenir, Je me suis touiours assés flatté pour croire ce que vous prenés la peine de me mander de vos Sentiments a mon esgard, et Jose esperer quils dureront touiours, Jose dire aussi que Je les merite, et que Je pense de façon surtout ce qui vous regarde a me les attirer, Je souhaite de tout mon coeur qu'il vienne des temps ou nostre commerce puisse deuenir plus libre, et Je mestimeray tres heureux si auant que de sortir d'angleterre Je puis vous assurer moy mesme, que, libre, ou prisonier, en France ou en angleterre, Je seray toute ma uie avec le mesme respect

Monsieur

Votre tres humble
et tres obeissant serviteur
LE MARECHAL DE TALLARD.¹

¹ Camille d'Hostun, Duc de Tallard (1652-1728), Marshal of France, was

II F 2

THE PRINCE DE CONTI *to the* EARL OF PORTLANDA NEUCHÂTEL *ce 9^e avril* [1699].

Je nay receu que depuis deux iours Monsieur la lettre que vous maués fait la grace de mecrire du 26^e du mois passe ie ressens un plaisir sensible de recevoir de vos nouvelles et ie vois avec ioye que les cheuaux que ie vous ay envoyés ne vous ont pas esté desagréables ie souhaiterois quils fussent plus beaux et ie me feray tousiours un plaisir singulier de chercher les ocasions de cultiver la continuation de vostre amitié ie vous suis tres oblige des offres que vous me faites ie suis tres bien monté a present mais quand iauray besoin de cheuaux ie madresseray librement a vous croyant que vous en useres de mesme a mon esgard sur ce que vous pouves desirer de ce que nous auons en France ie suis ici depuis plus de deux mois a poursuiure des pretentions que ie crois incontestables et cest la iustice de mon droit qui men fait esperer un heureuse issue vous scaués ce que ie vous ay dit sur ce chapittre autrefois ie vous prie de croire milord que ie suis tousiours dans les mesmes sentimens continués moy tousiours la mesme part dans lhonneur de vostre amitié et croyes que lon ne peut vous honorer plus veritablement que ie fais ny estre plus sincerement que ie suis entierement a vous

FRANÇOIS LOUIS DE BOURBON.¹M^r LE COMTE DE PORTLAND.

taken prisoner at the battle of Blenheim in 1704, and carried to England, where he resided, first in London and afterwards at Nottingham, until 1711, when, on the fall of the Whig ministry, he was allowed to return to France without ransom.

¹ François Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Conti (1664–1709), nephew of the

II F 3

THE DUC DE BOUFFLERS *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND

MONSIEUR

J'ay reçu la lettre que vous m'aues fait l'honneur de m'escire le 29 de ce mois avec le memoire quy y estoit ioint de Mons^r le Prince de Vaudemont, lequel i'ay eu lhonneur d'enuoyer dez hier au Roy mon maistre, et ie vous supplie d'asseurer mons^r le Prince de Vaudemont que ie m'employeray de mon mieux et avec un tres grand plaisir pour luy procurer toute la satisfaction quil peut desirer. Au cas que ie recoiue quelques ordres de Sa Maiesté quy me donnent lieu de vous donner de mes nouvelles, vous pouues vous asseurer que i'y satisferay avec empressement.

Je n'ay point de termes, monsieur, pour vous rendre toutes les graces que ie dois du cheual que vous auez eu la bonté de m'enuoyer; ie l'accepte avec plaisir, et le garderay comme vne marque sensible de l'honneur de vostre amitié dont ie fais beaucoup de cas, vous supliant tres instamment de croire

great Condé. He served with the Imperial army in Hungary against the Turks. After the death of Sobieski he was chosen King of Poland and started to take possession of his kingdom (1697); but on his arrival at Dantzic, finding himself supplanted by the Elector of Saxony, he returned to France without disembarking. The principality of Neuchâtel, for which it appears from this letter that the Prince de Conti was a candidate, was eventually gained by Frederick I., King of Prussia, who had on his side, apart from a certain measure of hereditary right, the consent of the people and the support of William III.

II F 5

THE PRINCE DE CONDÉ *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND.

A PARIS ce 17 May 1699.

Le bon succès de toutes les boissons que vous m'avez enuoyés, me rend Monsieur bien honteux sur la mauvaise condition des vins de bourgogne, rien n'est plus magnifique que le present que vous m'avez fait des meilleures liqueurs du monde de toutes les especes : ie n'ay pu vous mander plus tost come elles ont bien reussy a cause d'une auanture d'un charetier qui les a tenu plus longtemps en chemin quelles ny deuoient estre, les aglantiers en ont vn peu souffert la saison de planter s'estant passée ; cependant plusieurs ont repris. ie prens dans ce moment que i'ay de nouueaux remerciemens a vous faire pour des arbres que vous m'envoyés ; ie les attens avec impatience dans le dessein d'en parer vn parterre nouuelement planté a l'Hôtel de Conde de Paris. Mr. Prior m'a enuoyé de vostre part le plan de vostre labirinte qui me donne vne grande ialousie, ie croyois que le mien estoit la merueille mais ie suis obligé de confesser a regret que le vostre est beaucoup au dessus, la petite montagne couuerte de bons arbres doit estre d'un agreement infiny ; come le terrain de Chantilly n'est pas si fertile que celui de Hollande ie me retranche a planter des perdis, ie viens d'en faire un assez grand plan suivant le dessein que vous m'en avez donné, ie n'ay pas oublié la glaise, ie ne manqueray pas de vous rendre conte de la recolte quand le temps en sera venu, ie viens de Chantilly dont vos liqueurs ont bien fait les honneurs, et i'en porte vne grande quantité a Marly ou elles me font attendre avec vne grande impatience : de la ie retourneray

a Chantilly avec vne partie de la compagnie que vous y aues veue, vous ne doutés pas que vostre santé ny soit bien beue, ie vous prie Monsieur destre bien persuadé que persone ny prent et a tout ce qui vous touche vn interest plus veritable et plus sensible que moy.

H. J. DE BOURBON.¹

depuis ma lettre escrite iay receu la vostre du 11 de ce mois ie vous renouuele mes remerciemens pour les hous laffaire dont vous me parles est trop au dessus de mes lumières pour que ie nentreprene de resoudre vos doutes je viens dauoir vne longue conuersation avec M^e de Mayercroon (?) dont vous aues faict le suiet come elle ne manquera pas de vous en rendre conte vous voules bien monsieur qui ie men remeste a elle et que ie vous prie encor destre bien persuade que persone ne scauroit prendre vne plus veritable part que moy aus choses qui vous regardent.

II G 1

BROADSHEET

Declaration of war between England and France. 28 June 1689.

¹ Henri Jules de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1643–1709), son of the great Condé. Though he followed the campaigns of his father, whose life he saved at the battle of Senef, he never succeeded in learning the art of war. "Chantilly was his delight. He walked about there, followed by several secretaries with inkstands and paper, who wrote down whatever came into his head for its improvement and embellishment" (Saint Simon). Towards the close of his life he became subject to the delusion that he was dead, and refused all nourishment on the ground that dead men never ate. Eventually the doctors produced three men who, though dead, were still in the habit of eating, and henceforth the quartette constantly dined together in the enjoyment of the scandal of the other world.

II G 2

THE MARQUIS DE TORCY¹ *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND.

Depuis que V're Ex^{te} est venue icy le Roy a reçu Monsieur la lettre de M. Le Comte de Tallard qui l'informe de la dernière Audience qu'il a eue du Roy D'Angleterre. Si vous voulez bien Monsieur me marquer l'heure ou V. Ex^{te} sera chez elle demain au matin J'auray l'honneur de luy Communiquer la réponse que S. Maj^{te} fait a M. de Tallard et quelle m'a Commandé de vous faire voir. Je suis Monsieur De V're Ex^{te} Tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur.

DE TORCY.

A VERSAILLES ce 29^e [May 1698].

II G 8

LE NÔTRE *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND.

MILORS & MONSEigneur,

Je ne scaurois assez vous remercier de toutes les bontez que vous auez pour moy que vous tesmoigne a mon nepueu En verite Milors vous auez respondu a Paris et a la cour vne Estime sy grande quil ny aura personne quy puisse y respondre, apres vous et a vostre generosité et a la grandeur de vostre

¹ Jean Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Torcy (1665-1746), nephew of the great Colbert. He was at this time Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He left memoirs treating of the diplomatic history of the period between the peace of Ryswick and the peace of Utrecht, of which Voltaire wrote: "C'est la modération elle-même qui conduisait sa plume."

Illustre ambassade tous nos Courtisans et gens de robe et de cour sont obliges dauouer vostre bonne Conduitte et Jusque a Monseigneur Le prince quy ma tesmoigne lestime quil a eu de vostre Visite et les louange[s] que vous auez fait sur la beauté de tout Chantilly aussy vous y auez esté receu es Roy. Sy ma grande Jeunesse (?) eu pue me faire aller ie scay le plaisir que iaurois fait a son Altesse et jaurois eu lhonneur de vous faire remarqué les beaux Endrois et vous faire aduouer que cest vn beau naturel de voir tombé vnne riuere dune chute estonnante et fait lentre d'un Canal sans fin il ne faut point demander d'ou vient leau de ce Canal. Pardonné Je menporterois sur beaucoup de chose ayant tout conduit jusque a sa derniere auenue et Entré en sortant de la foreste pour venir sur la Terasse ce quy ce void du coup doeil sur le bord du grand Escalier. Sy ie menporte cest que je le dis a la personne quy a meilleure goust et que Jaye trouué tres peu cognoisse la beauté des Jardins ny des ouvrage[s] d'architecture. Ce nest pas Milors que je veille vous donner de lencens vous ne donné pas dans ses fumée Il faudroit vnne autre main et vnne autre plume que la mienne pour les escrire receuez au moins les miennes elle sont Milord bien vray et ie vous supplie au moins de les recevoir daussy bon Cœur que je vous les offre et vous prie de faire agreer au Roy les desseings que je fais et sy ce trouue quelque difficulte ie vous demande avec vn profond respect de me mander les Instructions de sa Majesté et puis les vostres les espliquer a mon nepueu par vn memoire toutes choses quy vous plaira de faire ie vous supplie sans abuser de vostre bonté. Souuenez vous de tout ce que vous auez veu de Jardins en France Versaille Fontainebleau Vau le Viconte et Les Thuilleries et sur tout Chantilly ie croy auoir encore lhonneur de vous entretenir et sy cela ne vous incomode point Je pense que ie vous entretiendre souuont ne pouuant mieux et a quy les pouvoir faire quy les cognoisse mieux que vostre

grandeur a quy je suplie de me permettre de lassurer que je suis
avec un profond respect

Monseigneur

Vostre tre humble et tres
obeissant serviteur

LE NOSTRE.¹

Ce Vendredy 11^{me} Juillet 1698.

II G 4

THE MARQUIS DE BERINGHEN *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND.

D'ARMAINVILLIERS. *le 16^e juin.*

Je suis bien fâché monsieur, de ne m'estre pas trouué a Versailles n'y a Paris pour auoir lhonneur d'apprendre moy meme ce que vous desiries de moy sur les cheuaux que vous aués enuie de donner au roy ; je n'oserois les receuoir sans en auoir auparauant rendu compte a sa maiesté et receu ses ordres ; je prends la liberté de luy en escrire pour qu'il veuille bien me permettre de les faire mettre dans son ecurie suiuant vostre intention ; M. des epinés vous rendra compte en mon absence du succès de ma negotiation, et ie me flatte monsieur, que vous estes bien persuadé combien ie vouderois faire quelque chose qui vous fust agreable et vous marquer en cette occasion que ie vous honore tres parfaitement et que ie suis tres veritablement monsieur, vostre tres humble et tres obeissant seruiteur.

BERINGHEN.²

¹ André le Nôtre (1613-1700), the celebrated architect and landscape-gardener, who laid out the park at Versailles, "un paysagiste digne d'auoir une place à côté de Poussin et du Lorrain" (Victor Cousin). When the Earl of Portland left France, a French gardener accompanied him to carry out the plans which Le Nôtre had made for Windsor.

² Jacques Louis, Marquis de Beringhen (1651-1723), first equerry to the King of France.

II H 1

WILLIAM III. *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND.AU CAMP DE PROMELLE *ce 5. de Juin.* 1697.

Je ne saurois asses exprime la joye que j'ay de ce que Le Prince de Vaudemont m'a dit qu'a la fin vous esties resolu de revenir aupres de moy, j'espere que vostre sante vous le permestera bien tost, et que vous ne vous en repentirez jamais a quoy je tacheres de contribuer tous que je pources faite le vous aussi de vostre coste, et soies asseure qu'il est impossible de vous aimer plus parfaitement que je fais.

G.

for the EARL OF PORTLAND.

This and the two following letters refer to the estrangement which had been gradually growing between the Earl of Portland and his master, owing mainly to the Earl's jealousy of the King's new favourite Keppel. In his efforts to conciliate Portland the King went to the utmost limit compatible with his dignity and beyond; "but he found the comrade of his youth an altered man, unreasonable, obstinate and disrespectful even before the public eye." At last, in 1699, Portland resigned all the appointments that he held in the royal household.

The Prince de Vaudemont (1642-1723) was the son of Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine.

II H 2

WILLIAM III. *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND.AU CAMP DE PROMELLE *ce 3^e de Juin. 1697*

J'advoue que j'avois espere que mes raisons vous auroient persuade a revenir aupres de moy et ne vous point absente, je vois a mon grand regret que vous estes tellement preoccupe de vos opinions que tout ce que je vous pourois dire ne fera auqu'un effet sur vous, s'est ce qui ma fait resoudre de communiquer vos lettres au Prince de Vaudemont, et qu'au moins un homme d'Esprit et de bon sens puisse raisonner avec vous et vous faire voir vostre tord, je ne saurois vous exprimer la douleur que je sens que vous estes sur le point de faire une action dont vous ne poves jamais vous justifier devant le Monde, vous m'accuses a tord de croire que je prens mal que vous m'adressisses des infames calomnies que l'on dit de moy, mais il est incomprehensible que vous prenes cela pour une raison de vouloir vous absenter, et est il possible de donner a cela une autre explication que de ce que vous alles faire une chose du monde la plus offensente pour moy Et ne me donnez vous pas Lieu de croire que vous ne m'aimes plus autant que vous faisies autre fois, je vous asseure aussi que ce n'est pas un de mes moindres chagrins qu'apres que vous aves este trente et trois ans aupres de moy sans que vous ayes fait auqu'une chose dont l'on pouroit vous reprocher qu'a l'age ou vous estes venu la passion vous emporte, et ne laisse point agir vostre bon sens faites la revenir, et consideres bien que ce que je vous dis ne procede que d'une amitie cincere que j'ay pour vous sans que mon interest, ou quelqu'autre vue que ce puis estre y est mesle.

G.

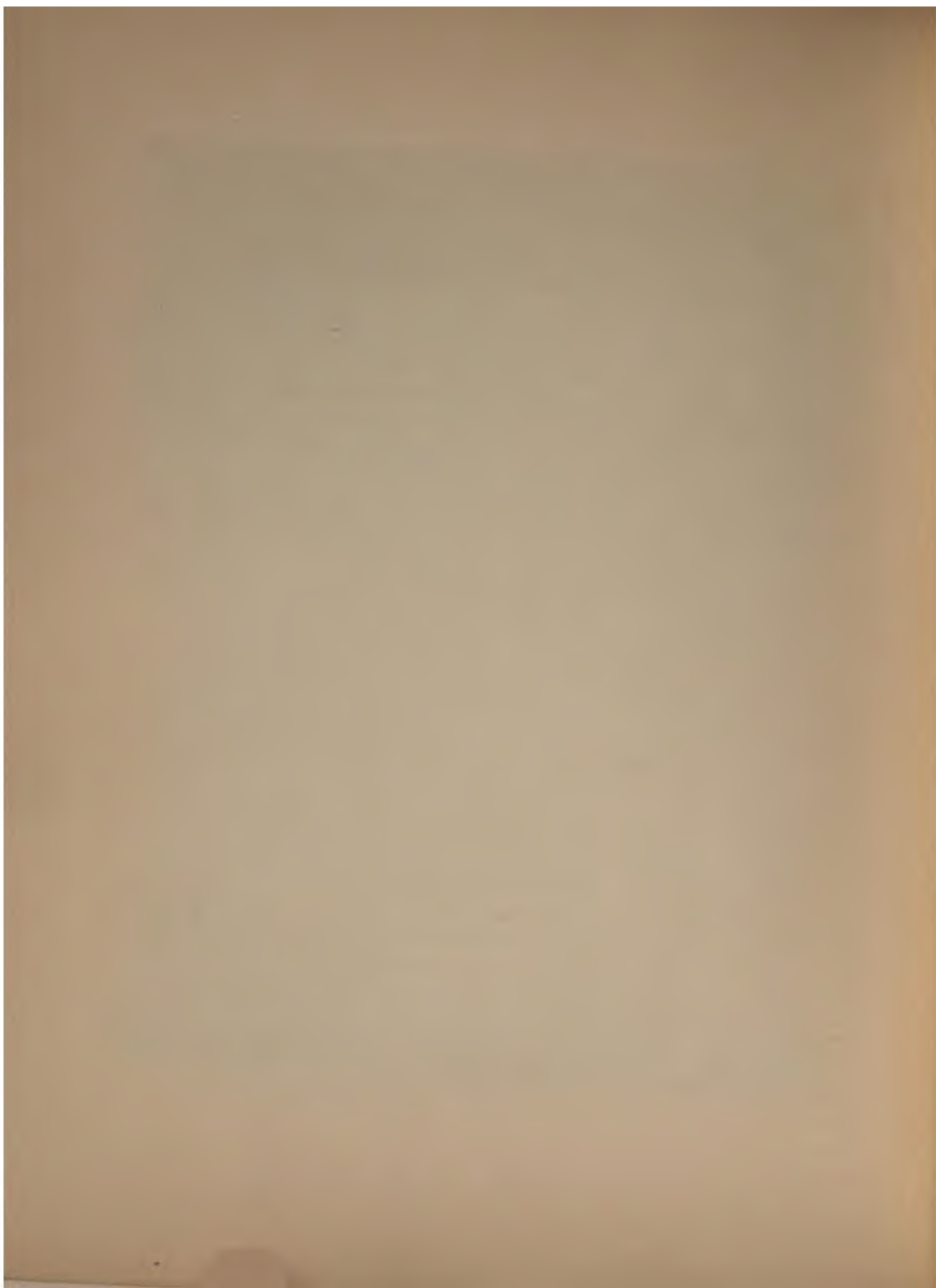
II H 3

THE EARL OF PORTLAND to WILLIAM III.

*Minute dune lettre au ROY DE WINDSOR PARCK ce $\frac{21}{1}$ d'avril
de may*
97

L'experience que iay Sire de ce quil est difficile a vostre Majesté de m'escouter avec moderation, et la crainte que jay quil ne m'echappe quelque plainte quelle ne prist pour un reproche qui lui peut deplaire, quant iay a lui parler dune chose aussi sensible m'oblige a prendre cette voye pour lui communiquer ma retraitte ou la necessité me reduit ayant souffert aussi longtemps, quil ma este possible.

Ce qu'une telle separation fait sentir dans nos coeurs n'est cogneu qua nous mesmes, et ce secret ne sortira pas du mien quautant il faut indispensablement qu'il paroisse par cette demarche, mes actions a ladvenir vous rendront sensible, que mon inclination pour vostre personne, ni mon zele pour vostre service n'ont jamais diminuez ma longue et patiente attente a suffisamment fait voir ma confiance aus promesses de vostre Majesté, ie croyois ne me pas abuser en jugeant des sentiments quelle avoit pour moy Comme elle a veu tousjours dans le fonds de mon coeur, qui n'a jamais eu rien de reservé pour elle, qu'une partie de ces chagrins, il nest plus temps de tacher a vous esmouvoir Sire, en vous rapellant le souvenir du passé, que ie croy quun retour interieur fera quelque sens de reste, ie demande a VM :^{te} en grace de ne pas estendre mon malheur sur ma famille, afin qu'elle n'en patisse pas plus quil le faut indispensablement, car elle ne vous a jamais faillie en la moindre



sil nas sse bontes ie meur de faing et seres dans la derniesre misere pardonne moy my Lord sy dans un tems ou vous aves vos chagrin ie vous inportune dais miens mais sait comme a mon amis et un amis que iesme de tous mon ceur vous honorent my Lord plus parfaitemant sertenemant que personne du monde.

L DUCHESSE DE PORTSMOUTH.¹

Madame et mademoiselle dermaignac men charge de vous faire mille complimants sy iossais ie vous coniuirerais de faire lais miens a madame Ninus lhonhorent tres parfaitemant.

II H 5

THE PRINCESS PALATINE *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND.

A FONTAINEBLEAU ce 1 octobre, 1699.

J'ay reçue avanthier vostre Lettre du 15 de 7br mons. le Comte de Portland La crainte ou vous estes que je diminue d'estime pour la personne que vous saves, est digne d'un bon Coeur comē le vostre, mais je vous dires ma pensée, qui peust vous oster vostre scrupule vn Roy n'est pas vn ange, il est hoīme comē vn aultre, et qui dit hoīme dit vne chose imparfaiite, et sujet aux foiblesses et ceux la sont seullement les plus estimables qui ont beaucoup de vertus qui contre ballacent leur foiblesses, ainsi je puis encore conserver beaucoup d'estime pour le Roy de la Grande Bretagne mais le plaindre en mesme temps si quelque foiblesse en luy empeche qu'il ne garde aupres de sa personne vn hoīme si fidelle et estimable que vous estes, et soit que vous parties ou demeureies

¹ Louise-Renée de Penancoet de Keroualle, mistress of Charles II. She was created Duchess of Portsmouth in 1673.

en silence je ne saurois croire que vous ayes grand tord, et plus je remarque la grande affection que vous aves pour vostre Roy moins je vous donne tord, je suis bien aisse que vous ayes bien compris le motif qui me faisait vous parler avec franchise, et de ce que vous estes content je souhaite que vous le soyes tousjours, et personne ne vous souhaite plus de satisfaction que moy. au reste je vous dires, ouy il est vray, que les grandeurs sont importunes, je dires plus je ne les ay jamais trouves auttres et c'est un sot mestier que celuy d'une grande princesse, nous avons tout le fardeau et la contrainte de la grandeur, et nous n'en avons pas les douceurs, vn grand prince encore peust faire du bien, il peust mesme adoucir sa contrainte quand il veust mais nous, nous avons toutte la servitude des particulliers, et toute la contrainte de la grandeur, et ne pouvons rien n'y pour nous n'y pour auttruy, je vous advoue que cela est enuyeux, facheux et tres desplaissant, sur tout a la longue mais il faut bien prendre passiance et ce soumettre dans l'apel ou le Seigneur nous met, je n'ay pust m'empacher de rire de ce que vous dittes que vous ne trouves point de fauteüil dans vostre chemin quand vous voullés aller voir vostre fille, mon Dieu dans cette vie il ce trouve tousjours quelque chose dans les chemins qui fache, je vous suis tres obligée de vous rejouir avec moy de l'heureux accouchement de ma fille, il est certain que je veres bien tost monsieur le Duc de Lorraine pour ma fille cela n'est pas encore si sur, je vous remercie mons' le Comte de Portland des bons souhaits que nous faittes je suis bien aisse que vous nous aimies je vous prie de continuer et destre persuades que la mere et la fille ont pour vous toutte lestime et l'amitié que vous pouves desirer de vostre bien bonne Amie. ELISABETH CHARLOTTE.¹

nous faisons de bien belles chasses de cerf icy celle dhier

¹ Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria, Princess Palatine (1652-1722), was the

dura deux heures et demie et je ne quittay pas, il faut vous dire encore qu'avant que de partir de Versaille monsieur le Dauphin¹ manqua pour la 18^{em} fois le voyageur de Veriere.

II H 6

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY *to the* EARL OF PORTLAND.

GRAFTON *first July* 1699.

MY LORD

I returned hither last night from a Journey, which is the cause of my not sooner receiuing & acknowledging the favour of your Lo^{ps} letter. You must allow me to be sorry, that his Ma^{ty} has lost the service of one, who was so faithfull & usefull to him, as your Lo^p has long been; But as my esteem and friendship, has never been tyd to fauour and greatness onely, so, I assure you, my Lord Portland a Countrey Gentleman, shall receive the same respects from me, as when he had the gold key, or the most eminent signs of his masters fauour and I earnestly desire to be esteemed, what I am with the greatest truth

My L^d

your Lo^{ps}

most faithfull and

obedient seruant

SHREWSBURY.

daughter of Charles Louis, Elector Palatine of the Rhine. She was married in 1671 to Philip of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV.

¹ "Monseigneur," who died in 1711. Saint Simon thus describes him as a horseman:—"He looked very well on horseback and had a noble mien, but he was not bold. Casau always rode before him in hunting. If he lost sight of him he thought himself lost; would never ride beyond a slow gallop, and would often wait under a tree to see what became of the hunt, and then follow slowly or else return home."

III A 1

*A pedigree & Liniull Discent of the RIGHT HONORABLE EDWARDE
DE VEER ERLE OF OXFORDE¹ Anno Dni 1577.*

III A 2

*A genealogie of the Honorable and noble familie of the
CAVENDISHES descended out of that antient and worthy
House of CAVÈDISH in Suff: Anno 1620.*

III B

*Letters patent under the great seal of JAMES I., conferring the
EARLDOM OF CLARE on JOHN (HOLLES)² BARON HAUGH-
TON. 2 Nov. 1625.*

¹ Seventeenth Earl of Oxford and Great Chamberlain (1550-1604). On the death of Aubrey (de Vere), twentieth Earl of Oxford, in 1702 the male line of de Vere and the Earldom of Oxford became extinct. When Harley was raised to the peerage in 1711 he took the titles of Baron Harley of Wigmore and Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer. "There was no descent from the family of de Vere; but the title of Oxford was possibly chosen because the grantee's grandmother (Brilliana Conway, wife of Sir Robert Harley, K.B.) was sister of the wife of Horatio (Vere), Baron Vere of Tilbury, who was grandson to an Earl of Oxford. . . . As to Mortimer, the Harleys had, in 1601, purchased the estate of Wigmore, formerly the *caput baronie* of the Mortimers, and perhaps considered that thereby the illustrious ancestry of the former owners had passed to them." G. E. C., *Complete Peerage*, vi. 177.

² John Holles (1564-1637), son and heir of Denzil Holles, was created Baron Haughton in 1616. He served against the Armada in 1588; in

III C 1

Notes in the handwriting of the (first) DUKE OF NEWCASTLE¹ for the book on Horsemanship, which he published in London, in 1667, under the title of "A new Method and Extraordinary Invention to Dress Horses, and Work them, according to Nature ; as also to Perfect Nature by the Subtlety of Art."

The notes are expanded and supplemented in the book ; but the divisions of the subject are treated here in much the same order.

Hungary against the Turks ; and in Spain under the Earl of Essex. That he should have succeeded in obtaining the title of Earl of Clare created much astonishment at the time, for he had no connection with the estate or with its original owners. Moreover, when Lord Rich had applied for the title (in 1618), he was refused on the ground that, Clare and Clarence being the same thing, it could not possibly be conferred upon any one lower in degree than a prince of the blood. However, as the new Earl of Clare himself wrote to the Bishop of Lincoln, when the grant had safely passed :— "What is it that a powerful favourite cannot do?" The powerful favourite being the Duke of Buckingham. *Complete Peerage*, ii. 272.

¹ William (Cavendish), "the loyal Duke" of Newcastle (1593–1676). In 1638 he was appointed governor of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. When the civil war broke out he took a prominent part on the Royalist side, especially in the north, and distinguished himself at Marston Moor, where, without holding a command, he fought at the head of a company of gentlemen volunteers. In 1644 he left England, apparently in disgust at the perversity or incapacity of the military leaders. He landed at Hamburg, and after a stay of a few years in Paris, he settled at Antwerp. At the Restoration he followed the King to England, and in 1665 was created Duke of Newcastle.

III C 2

Copy in the handwriting of the DUKE OF NEWCASTLE of a treatise on Government addressed 'for your most sacred Ma:^{ty}' (CHARLES II.).¹

This is doubtless the treatise, or letter, to which the Duchess in the life of her husband (p. 186, ed. Firth), alludes:—

“And here I cannot forbear to mention, that my noble Lord, when he was in banishment, presumed out of his duty and love to his gracious master, our new Sovereign King, Charles the Second, to write and send him a little book, or rather a letter, wherein he delivered his opinion concerning the government of his dominions, whensoever God should be pleased to restore him to his throne, together with some other notes and observations of foreign states and kingdoms; but it being a private offer to his sacred Majesty. I dare not presume to publish it.”

III C 3

Considerations touching the facility or Difficulty of the Motions of a Horse, on streight lines, & circular.”

This little treatise is in the handwriting of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, the philosopher. Hobbes was never an

¹ The text will be found printed in the Appendix. The fair copy of this treatise bound for presentation to the King is preserved in the Bodleian (Clarendon, 16195). It is thus described by Madan (*Summary Catalogue*): “In English on paper: written in 1660 or 1661: 12½ × 8½ inches, xiv + 104 pages—binding, limp white parchment, with fine gold tooling, and blue silk strings.”

See Appendix ii.

accomplished horseman; but, to judge from his letter to the Earl of Newcastle (from Paris, 25 Aug. 1685), he seems to have understood the points of a horse:—"for the opening his mouth, they confesse it, and say that when he was young and first began to be dressed he put out his head too much, which they that dressed him endeavouring to amend, for want of skill, did by a great bitte convert into this other fault of gaping . . . that he has no other ayre but corvettes, is a thing your Lordship was made acquainted with before."¹

III C 4

Memorandum of the dates of birth of the children of SIR WILLIAM CAVENDISH, with a postscript of the date of his own death by his widow, ELIZABETH, afterwards COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY.

Collins in his *Historical Collections* (p. 10) writes of Sir William Cavendish:—"As he was a learned and exact Person, he left under his Hand, the Births &c of all his children, as follows:" Thereupon the text of the document here exhibited follows word for word, as we are informed in a note, "ex autog. in Bibl. Harley."

I gather, from information kindly supplied by Mr. G. F. Warner of the Department of MSS., that no copy of this document exists in the British Museum, to which the bulk of the Harleian Library passed, so it would seem that this is the document that Collins had before him, and which he took for the original of Sir William Cavendish. But, in the first place, the handwriting points rather to the beginning of the seventeenth

¹ Portland MSS., ii. p. 126.

century; in any case it must be considerably later than the year 1557, when Sir William Cavendish died. In the second place, not only is the postscript that purports to be added by his widow Elizabeth, afterwards Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwick), in the same handwriting as the rest; but it bears not the slightest resemblance to her genuine virile scrawl, of which so many examples are still preserved at Hardwick. I am of opinion, therefore, that we have to do with a copy of the lost original, perhaps made by William Cavendish (the second son), afterwards first Earl of Devonshire.

III D 1

A Note for Andrewe Claytoñ aboute my Buldinge att Welbeck.

1 Firste you muste gett M^r Marshe to coume to Welbeck, & make a draughte, for the makinge off a good stare to my Ridinge house Chamber, & good lights,—& this draughte to give Itt to Reade & hee to Instructe him in Itt, & so to Instructe Richarde Martiñ, aboute makinge the Steare — & towe good large windoes, In the Ridinge House Chamber, & this to bee doñ the firste worke aboute the House, & to bee dispatchte, with all the haste thatt possible cañ bec,

2 The nexte work Is thatt wher Reade workes nowe & thatt to bee dispatchte.

3 The thirde worke to mende all the sides off the litle Riuer In the south Garden, & to sett the litle houses righte wher theye leane, & to bee hansomleye Clensed, & the stone Rayles, to bee sett stronge & clensed,

4 Then the litle dore In the south Gardē to bee wallde Vpp, — & the Topp off Itt to bee made Eueñ with the wall.

— Then the greate Gate to be made juste like the Back Gate heer, — so Richarde Martiñ after the Ridinge House chamber Is doñ, let hiñ goe Instantlye Iñ hande with this Gate, or Else the frute will all bee stolen.

5 You must bye the Leade for Bolsover, as soone as Ever you see the prise faules,

W. NEWCASTLE.

III D 2

Book containing songs and sketches of plays in the handwriting of the D. OF NEWCASTLE.

The Duke was an assiduous cultivator of the art of poetry ; but his muse shows but awkwardly in the trammels of rhyme. The effect of his verse is slight as compared to the effort it betrays.

He was a liberal patron of poetry in others—among them Ben Jonson and Dryden—so that Langbaine writes of him :—“ Since the time of Augustus no person better understood dramatic poetry, nor more generously encouraged poets ; so that we may truly call him our English Mæcenas.” It seems that he also dabbled in physical science, and Hobbes writes gratefully of the “ silver spurs ” with which the Duke’s bounty stimulated his efforts.

The following specimens give a fair idea of the Duke’s poetical powers.

A PROLOGE THATT SHOULDE HAVE BEEN SPOKEN BEFORE
AN INTENDED PASTORALL ATT ANTWERPE.

PROLOGUE.

Since on Us, are the times, moste fatall Curses,
Nott feaste your taste, Itt is beyonde our Purses,

H

Butt doe Invite you, & before you Rise,
 Weel feaste your Understandings, Eares, & Eyes.
 Your Ladye Snowe white breasts, though frozen weare,
 Thawe them, & Each Eye drop a loyng Teare,
 Att leaste softe smothringe Sighs, wee meane to Rayse,
 With Amorus speeches, & sweet Roundelayes,
 For Musick hath such powre youle have no choyse,
 Movinge all pations, with her warbling voyse,
 Ande softe toucht stringe, Harmoniuslye a Longe,
 Takinge your Hartes all Prisnors In a Songe,
 Ande to your selves shall softlye whispringe Saye,
 Though Came nott lovers, lovers wente a waye,

Butt whatt nowe Iff, sum supersilius Sir
 Doth shake his Emptye Heade, though light as fir,
 Or feathers Is within, sayes these are Crimes,
 To sporte In our Condition, & sad Times,
 Butt to bee foxte In private, which hee Tries,
 Ande a cheape Hoore, with Gravetye Is wise,
 Uncontionable fooles, our right by Birth,
 We've loste, shoulde wee loose too our harmles Mirth,
 Thatt weare to much, with Courage wee weare Borne,
 And their starchte oute sides, pities, & doth scorne,
 Weer above them, those wreches, wee dispise,
 That thinkes by findinge faulte, to bee thought wise,
 Maye nott sum Emulators thinke Itt fitt,
 That are pretenders to stronge lines, & witt,
 With scornfull smiles to Dam all theye doe heare,
 Or with a softer whisperde, wittles Geer
 Thatts dead as soone as Borne, poore Soles, so Lowe,
 Thatt barks like Currs att those theye doe nott knowe,
 Will urge their malise further to with spight
 Sayenge sum sheapherds buskin was nott right,

Butt stud a wrye, sum Ribun loose Untide
 Or that a pin did faule frome our fayre Bride
 These are shrode Crimes, butt none off these wee feare,
 Our skies are cleer heer In our hemispheare,
 Ande you are juste, then sensure less or more,
 Tis given you, payde nothinge att our Dore
 Ande since such payns we've taken to presente you
 We are as Confidente, for to Contente you.

A SONGE FOR MR. LANIER.¹

Her absence makes mee suffer for her,
 Nott greefe, or sorowe, butt whatts Hor-rer,
 Fanside softe Virgins murderde, Bledinge,
 On those pewre streames sawe Tigers feedinge,
 Then vewde distracted Parentts Lienge,
 Cursinge their Fates, Pininge, & Dyenge.

The darker cloudes Exhaled Hier,
 Inflamed by Joues flashe off Fier,
 Ande his firse Thundringe shott, did make,
 Graves open, & the Dead to wake,
 Risinge afrighted, Pale, & Thin,
 Lashte by their contiences, for Sin.

¹ Nicholas Lanier (1588-1666) came of a family that had been musical for several generations. He was employed at the court of Charles I. not only in his musical capacity, but as a connoisseur and collector of works of art. The nucleus of the King's celebrated collection was brought together by him. In 1655 the Earl of Newcastle gave a ball at the Hague to the exiled King Charles II. and his court, when a song of the Earl's own composing was sung to Lanier's music.

SONG FOR MR. LANIER

Then harde the dred-full Trumpetts sounde,
 Felte tremblinge Earth-Quakes, & the Grounde,
 Opende her Sulfrus Jawes, frome Whence,
 Infernall Speritts, riss frome thence,
 Black Exsecutioners, Did sewe,
 Hedlonge to throwe, the Damned Crewe,

Darke all selestiall Bodies Turnde,
 Our worlde Inflaminge fiers Burnde,
 Scorchinge poore siners, which did Lye,
 In Black Dispayre, cause coulde nott Dye,
 Howlinge oute Blasfemies with noyse,
 Thy presense Turnes black thoughts to Joyes,

Therefore returne with loves Intention,
 For frome Hells thoughts, Ther Is redemption.

UPON GIVING MEE THE LATE KINGES PICTURE.

Off olde, att Sacred Alters, ther theye Layde
 Theyr firste frutes offringes, to the Gods theye made,
 Sweet Insence to, perfuminge all the Ayre,
 Ande afterwarde, a holye, pius Prayre,
 Then to tha-noynted Princes heer on Earth,
 Offerde rich presents, Entertaynments, Mirth,
 Thy Bounties more, the hight off offringes Bringe,
 Though thourte a Subiecte, Gave to Mee a kinge.

III D 8

From the DUKE OF NEWCASTLE¹ to the EARL OF DANBY.²

NOTTINGHAM Nov. y^e 14th (81).

.

I am much obliged to your Lo^p for your kind thoughts to y^e Memory of my Sonn who was ruened by his Marriage w^{ch} I was ever against, noe doubt my Lady Ogle is a most Vertues excelent but she is most vnfortunate haveing people who advised her y^t Loves money above all things, her La^p can marry noe body but who his Maj^{ty} will please to recommend to her for wth out his Maj^{ty}s Pitty of her she is ruened. I wish wth all my soule I could contreibut to your Lo^p Liberty.

H. NEWCASTLE.

¹ Henry (Cavendish), Earl of Ogle and second Duke of Newcastle (1630–1691).

² Sir Thomas Osborne (1632–1712), Lord High Treasurer of England (1673); Earl of Danby (1674). In 1678 he was impeached on the strength of his connection with the secret agreement between Charles II. and Louis XIV., and his enemies further tried to implicate him in "the Popish plot." In the following year he was committed to the tower, where he remained for nearly five years. In 1681 he was directly accused by one Edward Fitzharris of having plotted the murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey; but the attempt came to grief with the conviction and execution of Fitzharris. He was admitted to bail in 1683, and discharged in 1685. He was one of the seven conspirators who invited the Prince of Orange to England, and in 1694 he was created Duke of Leeds.

III D 4

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE *to the* EARL OF DANBY.

BOLSOVER, *May y^e 2^d*: (81).

.

I assure your Lo.^p at this time I can not have a greater Joy then it braught me, y^t your Habivs Corpus¹ is granted to you, and I begg of your Lo.^p I may be bayle for you, I pray heartily if your Lo.^p can not have your Liberty perfectly you may have it vpon Bayle.

III D 5

The SAME to the SAME

BOLSOVER, *June y^e 14th* (81).

. .

I begg to be Bayle for you[r] Lo.^p., and I hope in God you[r] Lo.^p will have it, since the buseness of Fitsharris is ended. The Mallis of your Lo.^p enemies is above w^t could be imagened, but I heare none say Fitsharris is to [be] beleaved; God grant your Lo.^p your Liberty.

¹ This seems to have been a mistake.

III D 6

THE EARL OF OGLE *to the* EARL OF DANBY.

Where ever I am, I have allways great cause to thanke you for your great frendshipp to me, and though I am very mallencholly, finding my Father more perswaded by his Wife¹ then I could thinke it possible, yett your Letter gives me great sattisfaction to see my selfe kept in y^e good opinion of my Master² by your great affection to me, w^t ever I can in y^e World doe to serve you I will doe wth intyer Love to you, and you may assure his Maj^{ty} if I had never soe many Lives to lay at his feete thay should be perfectly at his Command out of Love to his Person for I wholly depend vpon it and am nobodys but his I will shew it vpon all occations and in y^e North we are sure to doe it, where I am imployed I am not sory his Maj^{ty} is resolved to have one Tresurer of y^e Navey³ hoping it will be your selfe, and theres noe doubt but you will be better then as you was the King cannot be better then to have you allways wth him I thanke God my little

¹ His second wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Lucas, the celebrated poetical and philosophical Duchess. She published a life of her husband "the loyal Duke" in 1667, and the long and varied list of her works further includes "Philosophical Fancies" (1653), "Poems and Fancies" (1653), and "Playes" (1662). Pepys said of her: "The whole story of this lady is a romance, and all she does is romantic."

² Lord Ogle was at this time a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and Joint Lord-Lieutenant of Northumberland.

³ In this year (1671) Sir Thomas Osborne was appointed sole treasurer of the navy.

fammily¹ are in health the joy I take in it cannot be taken away from me by y^e vnkindness to vs at Wellbeck.

. . . .

WORMBOPE Aug^r 10th 71

IV A 1

July 23, 1712
Aug 3

*Draft of a letter from the EARL OF OXFORD to COUNT ZINZENDORF.*²

MONSIEUR,

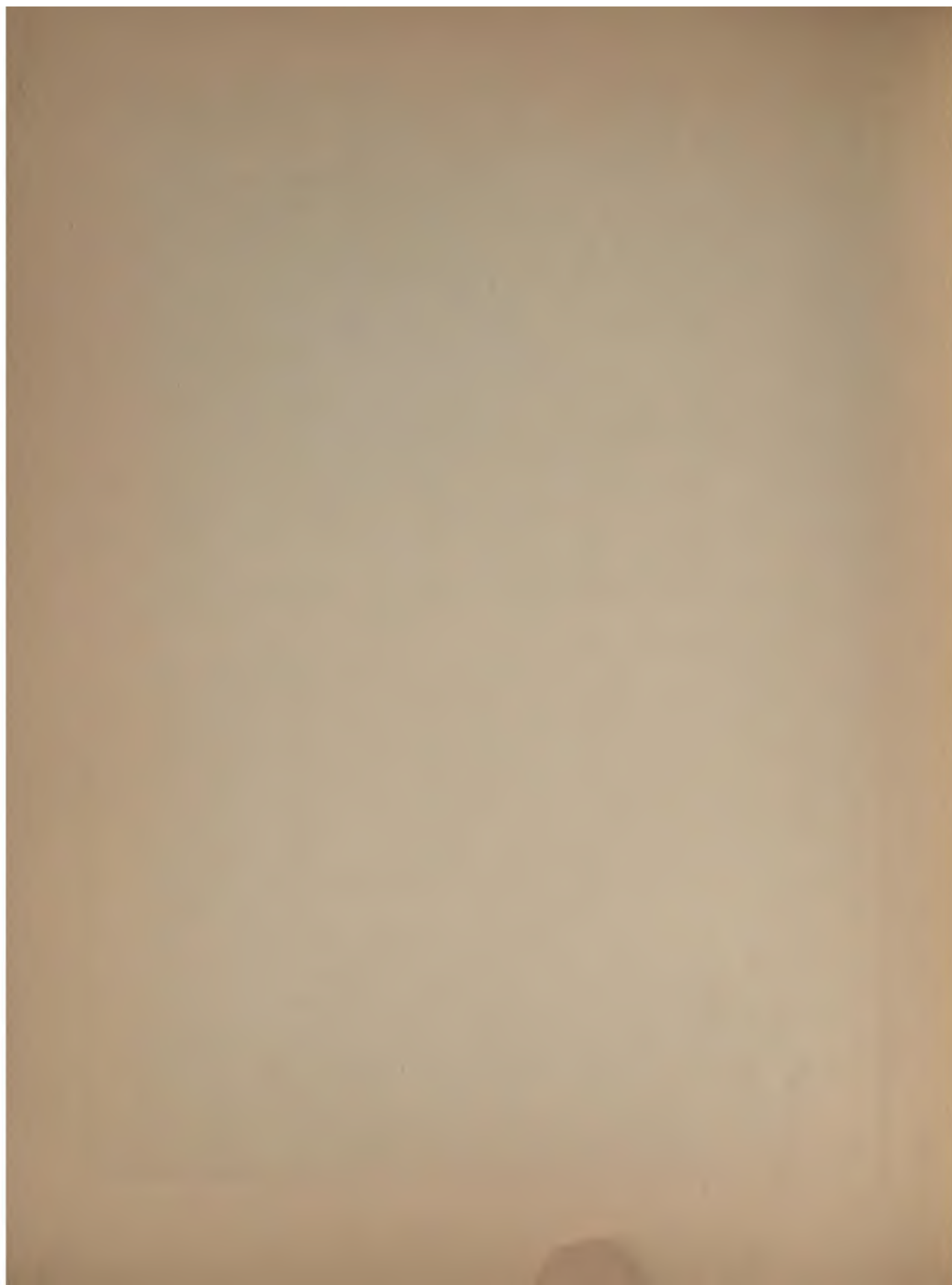
I receiv'd the favor of y^r letter ce Juillet wth great respect & if I had been so happy as to have been known to your Ex^{ty} I should not have needed to have told you how zealous I have always shewd myself to promote the interest of the most August House of Austria; & to that end how much I have endeavord when Secretary & now in another Station to preserve & cultivate a perfect good understanding between our two Courts. I have had the good luck to foretell your ministers heer what has come to pass. I did the utmost I could to prevent any mistakes; & because our country is not easily understood even by those who have

¹ Lord Ogle married about 1653 Frances, daughter of the Hon. William Pierrepont. His only son Henry, Earl of Ogle, married (1679) Elizabeth, daughter of Joceline (Percy), Earl of Northumberland, and died in 1680 aged eighteen years.

² Philippe-Louis, Comte de Zinzendorf (1671-1742), Imperial Chancellor. He represented Austria at the peace-conference at Utrecht. After the retirement of Prince Eugene he directed the policy of the House of Austria until the accession of Maria Theresa.

livd many years heer, I took the liberty to mark out those rocks w^{ch} might prove dangerous, that noise & clamor without foundation might not carry away y^r ministers from the true interest of H.I.M: It is not proper for me to mention where the miscarriage has been. The Queen & the nation think it necessary to ease their Burdens & in order to it that a good peace was to be procurd. I have pressd y^r ministers heer every one for above a year Past upon this head: I have told them that we could not continue w[ith] y^e War, and that a Peace must be made before we were quite exhausted. I have also for the year Past urged that a new Treaty of Alliance should be enterd upon (this I say again a year since) between the two Crowns. It would be too tedious to marke to y^r Ex^{co} how often I repeated this to every one of y^e Emperors ministers but the effect may be expressed in very few words. Nothing could be done. Ever since the negotiations have been set on foot, they have heard but never given any answer. At length the body of y^e Nation awakes & 200 to one declare for a peace, approve all the Queen has done are impatient all is not finished. The Queen stil wth great patience waits. Neither the hard treatment she meets from her Allys, nor the attempts of a few, very few other factious subjects on one hand, nor the importunitys of her whole people on the other hand have been able to provoke the Queen; she waits to see if she may be permitted to be serviceable to her Allys; her Ma^{ty} knows the Interest of her own people, she pretends not to determine the Interest of her Allys, that is left to each of them to explaine & they are sure of the Queen of G: B: best assistance.

That at length the Queen finds herself obligd to an Armistice was not unknown to your Ex^y before you wrote the letter you honord me wth. The sense of the Nation has also been made public and what y^e Nation expects of the



donc pas que uous me rendré plus de justice et que uous seré persuadé Milord que je ne souhaite rien plus ardemment que d'entretenir avec vous une parfaite amitié et Correspondance qui pourrat estre util au seruice de nos maistres. quand a ce qui regarde les propositions contenues dans cette lettre, je luy repons amplement uous pouuez croire Milord quelles surprendront extremement S. M. J. et [je] ne puis rien uous y repondre sans auoir ses ordres. On ne peut estre Milord avec plus de ueneration

vostre tres humble et tres
obeissant seruiteur

EUGENE DE SAVOYE.

J'enuois Mons^r de Hoghendorf a Uienne pour receuoir les ordres de S. M. J.

IV A 4

DE TORCY *to* HARLEY.

A Font^{an}

Le 19^e Juillet 1712.

Vous voyez Monsieur qu'il ne tient pas au Roy de finir l'ouvrage de la paix,¹ et que S. M^{te} s'est portée, sans hésiter, a

tide of public opinion." Coxe, vi. 162. Sichel writes (*Bolingbroke* i. p. 46): "They [the Dutch and the Austrians] resolved to play a trump card. Eugène was to come over in the Austrian interest. Riots were to ensue, the Tories were to be kicked out, and, if the Queen demurred, there was the possibility of a military dictatorship."

¹ The preliminary articles of the treaty of Utrecht had been signed on the part of France as early as Septem. 1711. The treaty was not definitely signed until the 31 Mar. 1713.

tout ce que la Reyne de la G. Bretagne a désiré pour le terminer. C'est presentement a S. M^{te}. B^e a finir vne negociation aussy auancée : Ses jntentions ne sont pas douteuses, & quand même les effets ne les auroient pas confirmées, il ne resteroit pas la moindre jncertitude, depuis la lettre que vous m'auez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 2^e de ce mois. Acheuez donc Monsieur et suiuant la confidence dont vous m'auez honoré, faites que la Reyne contraigne ses Alliez a se soumettre a ses volontez. Ils y sont encore bien rebelles, mais une paix part^{re} sera le moyen le plus seur de les domter. . . .

IV B 1

HARLEY to MR. ROBINSON.¹

WHITEHAL Dec 17 1706
28

I doubt not but before this you have received her Ma^{ties} directions how to behave y^rself at y^r audience, & that your Compliment upon the Peace² will be General as the notification was, but that you wil be very particular in y^r expressions of the Queens esteem for H. Sw : M : friendship, & the great value she has for his virtues, & that none of the Reports spread abroad to his Ma^{ties} disadvantage make any impression upon the Queen. I have lately ordered one of the common news writers heer to be prosecuted, upon some exception Mr. Lyoncroona took to what he had printed in his newes about H. S. M. . . .

¹ John Robinson (1650-1723), envoy extraordinary at the Court of Sweden. In 1710 he was made Bishop of Bristol, and in 1713 of London.

² The Peace of Altranstadt concluded between Charles XII. of Sweden and Augustus II. King of Saxony and Poland.

IV B 2

HARLEY to MR. ROBINSON.

June 23 1704
 July 4

.

I heartily wish you would please to communicate y^r thoughts (w^{ch} I know are so just, & so zealous for her Ma^{ties} service) w^{ch} is the best way for her Ma^{ty} to preserve or acquire an interest in ye K: of Sweden & his Ministers. The Kings prevailing Passion is the desire of glory & renown, & that Heroical heat, no doubt is applied by diverse Persons as wel those about him, as by another Princes agents to their own purposes. I find by several forreign courts the resentments they have conceivd, tho at present they stifle them, yet I see three or four at least are sowing the seeds w^{ch} wil spring up to much disturbance, & requite, as they hope in their turne the disquiet the news gives them. I wil not say any more upon this head but the wel known Caution, *multis terribilis caveto multos*. . . .

IV B 3

HARLEY to MR. CHARLES WHITWORTH.¹

WHITEHAL April 27 1705.
 May 8

S^r

I have receivd y^r letters from Mosco, & the Queen very much approves y^r conduct & particularly in y^t part w^{ch} relates

¹ Charles Whitworth, afterwards Baron Whitworth (1675-1725), envoy extraordinary to Russia.

to the offer made you of being entertained at his Czaric¹ Ma^{ty} charge. . . . I shal expect in a little time to hear from you how far the manners of Europe do obtain where you are, & what progress his present Ma^{ty} makes in cultivating his Armys, his People, his Laws, his Government, & the trade of his country from what he & his great men saw in their travails abroad. You wil have leisure enough to make y^r observations upon al particulars, & compare them with the accounts delivered by Mr Fletcher² in Q: Elizabeth's time, & Mr Marvail³ who went wth Ld Carlisle in K: Ch: ye 2^d reign, not to mention the famous Latin⁴ acc^t of John Basilowitz. . . .

IV B 4

HARLEY to MR. WHITWORTH.

Sept: 27 1706.
Oct 8

. . . .

And now I cannot but mention a private matter to you; tho I know very well how much the Russes are given to brag, & I do not credit all the storys they report of the vast number of Greek manuscripts they have in their Library at Mosco; yet they have had opportunitys of getting several MSS. out of Asia; therefore if you can do it without giving

¹ Peter the Great.

² Giles Fletcher, LL.D. (1549?-1611). His account of Russia appeared in London in 1591, entitled "Of the Russe Common Wealth."

³ This is the well known Andrew Marvell. He accompanied Charles (Howard), first Earl of Carlisle, to Russia in 1663.

⁴ The reference is probably to the work by Sigismund, Baron Herberstein, entitled *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii* (Viennæ Austræ, 1549).

offence I should be glad to know the state of their Library, what sort of Books they have, particularly MSS. & whether any but what relates to their religion. I have met with an information that they have Photii Bibliotheca or *Μυριοβιβλιον*¹ compleat. what information you can get of this kind will be very acceptable to y^e learned world: & if it were practicable I would willingly be at y^e charge to copy anything that is valuable.

IV B 5

HARLEY to MR. GEORGE STEPNEY.²

June 14 1706.
25

M

. . . . This night I send the Duke of Marlborough bills for 50 pound to be sent to P: Eugene, w^{ch} I take to be the last payment; so that I hope he wil be able to carve out his own revenge for the Battle of Calcinato,³ & at the same time relieve the D: of Savoy. My Lord Treasurer has wrote to you already concerning taking security for ye 200,000 crowns the Queen advanced some time since; it is impossible at this distance to descend to particulars; but it is left to your conduct to settle that affair with the Emperors Ministers.

¹ This is *Μυριοβιβλιον ἢ Βιβλιοθήκη* the most important of the works of Photius. It has been edited several times; e.g., by Bekker (Berlin, 1824).

² George Stepney (1663–1707), poet and diplomatist; envoy at the Imperial Court from 1702 to 1706.

³ At the battle of Calcinato the Imperial troops were defeated by the French under the Duke of Vendôme.

IV B 6

HARLEY to MR. STEPNEY.

*May 30 1704.**June 10*

. . . . The Queen thinks, (& with a great deal of reason), that the sending the Duke of Marlborough wth an army so far into Germany for the preserving of the Empire in this time of imminent Danger, is so great an instance of her Ma^{ty} care & concerne for his imperial Majestie & the Austrian Family that she may very wel renew her instances wth the Emperor for quieting the disturbances ¹ in Hungary w^{ch} tends so much for the good of y^e common cause.

IV B 7

HARLEY to MR. ROBINSON.

*WHITENAL Feb 9 1704.**20 5*

.

. . . . I did in my former letters mention the new Turne affairs were like to take in your Province by the treaty wth the D: of Marlborough so dextrously concluded at Berlin; ² that doth not only supply succors for Italy but also delivers (in a

¹ The Hungarian revolution which under the leadership of Francis Rákóczy II. lasted from 1703 till 1711.

² In November 1704 (Coxe's *Marlborough*, II. 60).

great measure) from those apprehensions wth it was just to have from a busy & active court with so great a number of unemployed Troops; but that you may be perfectly master of this I send you a copy of y^e whole treaty & of the secret Article by wth you wil perfectly comprehend what is to fal to your share to negotiate; and the States having now ratified this Treaty, I take for granted you will quickly be put upon acting what I hinted to you some time since with relation to a security for y^e K: of Prussia's territorys & what is comprehended within that Treaty.

IV B 8

BARON SPANHEIM¹ to HARLEY.

le 12 Nov^{bre} 1705

MONSIEUR

Je me donne l'honneur de vous envoyer icy l'Estat des subsides deus au Roy mon maistre par la Couronne d'Angleterre, montant a la somme de $\frac{220}{m}$ Escus, et qui iustifie assez clairement le payement, qu'il ne peut qu'on attendre avant la fin de la mesme année, conformément au Traitté fait l'an passé avec le My Lord Duc Marlborough, et qu'il est question de renouveler. Je ne puis qu'avoir là dessus une confiance par-

¹ Ezekiel Spanheim, born in Geneva, 7 Decem. 1629; studied theology and Oriental languages at Leiden; in 1680 he was sent by the Elector of Brandenburg as ambassador extraordinary to Paris, where he remained for nearly nine years; in 1702 he came to England on a similar mission, the Elector having meanwhile assumed the style and title of Frederick I., King of Prussia; he died in 1710. Apart from public affairs his works cover a wide field in philology and ancient history.

ticulière dans l'appui de vos bons offices et favorables insinuations auprès du My Lord Grand Thresorier, et dailleurs, là où il écherra

Je suis avec zele et verité
Monsieur, vostre tres humble
et tres obeissant serviteur
SPANHEIM.

IV C 1

THE EARL OF GODOLPHIN *to* HARLEY.¹

COCKPITT past twelve Fryday 2nd.

Having the ill fortune to miss you here, & being now going to Kensington, to show the Queen a L^r I have from the Duke of Marlborough, I beg leave to tell you, that in that L^r he is very pressing to have the Queen write by this post an obliging L^r to the K^s of Prussia, who he seems to fear,² may yett make some difficulty of renewing the Treaty. I intend therefore to tell the Queen that you will prepare such a L^r for her to be sent away by this night's post, tho' at the same time I don't doubt but what I am doing here, in giving the King of Prussia the half of his arrear of last Warr will secure to us the renewing of the Treaty.³ . . .

¹ This letter belongs to the time of Marlborough's journey to Vienna in Novem. 1705, to raise a loan and in general to compose the mutual difficulties and jealousies of the allies.

² Probably from the letter of the King of Prussia to himself (Coxe's *Marlborough*, ii. 252).

³ The Treaty was in fact renewed "as a mark of respect to the Queen, and of particular friendship to the Duke."

IV C 2

THE EARL OF GODOLPHIN *to* HARLEY.*Wednesday near 11 at night.*

.

I find plainly by all the forreign L^{res}, the most Wee can hope for from Holland, is a promise to goe onn upon the foot of last year, which they will not keep, I doubt, either at land or sea ; at the same time, it seems as plain, that the Emperour will be forced to withdraw his Army from Italy unless the *maritime powers*, as Wee are styled abroad, send 10000¹ men to rein-

crs

force Pr Eugene, as well as twice the 800000 w^{ch} Wee have made them expect. Now how this can bee done I don't well see, I confess, but I see unless some way or other it bee done, or something very like it, wee must bee undone, on that side of the World. If the D. of Marlborough were here, I think wee might come to some resolution, upon this head, which presses in point of time, perhaps more than we are aware of.

.

¹ Prince Eugène writes to Marlborough on the 2nd Decem. 1705 : "As the only means of supporting this war the maritime powers must grant a loan of £250,000 on some secure funds, and reinforce this army with 10000 men." Count Wratislaw writes in the same strain (12 Decem.): "You cannot imagine the concern of his Imperial Majesty at finding that the first 300,000 crowns are not yet supplied either by England or Holland, on the confidence of which payment we wholly relied." The supplies were eventually granted (Coxe's *Marlborough*, ii. 271.)

IV C 8

Note from HARLEY to GODOLPHIN with the answer on the same sheet. Undated.

M

The Bill for y^e loan¹ of 250 pounds to y^e Emperor is brought me now from Mr. Attorney;² may I present it to her Ma^{ty} this night, or must it stay longer?

I think the bill may bee signed to night, but perhaps it will bee best not to have the seal putt to it, till the return of y^e Courier from Vienna, who is expected in 2 or 3 days. Perhaps no alteration will bee necessary. if any it may bee done in her Ma^{ty} presence, its but changing the figure of 8 to 7.

¹ This was probably the loan of the year 1705 which Godolphin had opposed on financial grounds, and to which his consent was only with great difficulty extorted by Marlborough. On September 14th of this year Marlborough writes to Harley:—"I have given my Lord Treasurer my thoughts of the loan desired by the Emperor."

² Sir Edward Northey.

IV C 4

THE EARL OF OXFORD *to* [THE D. OF MARLBOROUGH].

July 10 1711.

MY LORD

I send your Grace¹ 10 Bills for 1000. wth her Ma^{ty} com-
manded me to deliver to your Grace. Be pleased to signe
the enclosed receeit in any name you think fit, & send it
seald up to my Lord

Your Grace's most humble &
most obedient servant

OXFORD.

Pardon me the great hast
I am in

IV C 5

THE EARL OF GODOLPHIN *to* HARLEY.

Thursday at one.

In case the House rises in time for it, I desire the favour of
you to call at my house between 5 & 6 this evening, that the
Duke of Marlborough & I may talk to you, as Wee go to
Kensington; my Coach shall bee ready.

¹ Marlborough in his subsequent vindication of himself from the charge of
corruption stated "that in the former war in the Netherlands, Parliament had
voted £10,000 a year to the King for secret service, without account. . . .
The Queen had continued the same privilege to him, by her royal warrant,
dated 9th of July, 1702." Coxe, *l.c.*, vi. 125.

IV C 6

Draft of QUEEN ANNE's speech to Convocation (1711) in the handwriting of ATTERBURY.¹

We are given to understand that it having been Questioned "whether in cases where the Convocation hath made some Progress in Busyness, without finishing it, before the Intervention of a Royal Prorogation, they may, when reassembled, go on, where they left off, at y^e Time of such Prorogation? or are obliged to begin it de novo, in like manner as the Two Houses of Parl^t?" an Interruption hath thereupon hapned in y^e Despatch of that Busyness, which we particularly recommended to them by Our Letters of Jan. 29. & Feb. 14. 17¹⁰/₁₁.

In our preceding Letter of Dec. 12. 1710, We expresd Our Earnest Desire, that all Disputes about Unnecessary Forms & methods of Proceeding might cease. In y^e number of these y^e Dispute at present depending is not to be placd; wherein y^e Rights of Our Regal Supremacy and Prerogative (which We can not suffer to be infringd, under any Color or Pretence whatsoever) are plainly and highly concernd.

Out of Our Princely Care therefore to obviate the Ill Effects of such a Controversy, We have thought fit by this Our Letter under Our Sign Manual, in pursuance of y^e Powers granted by Our Royal License, to recommend to You the making such wholesome Rules & Orders, as may supply

¹ Francis Atterbury (1662-1732), afterwards (1713) Bishop of Rochester. It was largely owing to his influence and exertions that Convocation had been enabled to resume its functions, and he was at this time Prolocutor of the Lower House.

any Defects in y^e present Discipline & Governm^t of y^e Church, redress the Abuses that have crept into y^e Exercise of any part of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, & prevent the Scandal arising from the Improper Use of the Highest Church Censures on less Solemn & weighty Occasions.

If Ye shall employ the Residue of Your Time in framing such good Rules & Orders, in considering what may be fit & requisite to repress y^e growth of Infidelity & Profaneness, & in preparing Offices & Forms of Prayer, for Special Purposes, not yet provided for by Public Authority; Ye shall do what will be highly acceptable to Us, & will redound to your own Honor to y^e Service of true Religion, & to y^e lasting Benefit of this Church & Kingdome.

We shall always be ready to give our Royal Consent to whatever shall by You be prepar'd & shall appear to Us well suited to the Attainment of these Excellent Ends. In order to which, if y^e Assistance of y^e Legislature shall in any case be found requisite, We will, upon your humble application to Us, recommend what shall be thought proper for that purpose to y^e Care & Consideration of our Parliament.

In y^e mean time We transmit to You a Paper layd before Us by y^e Bishop of Ely; Entituled, "The Judgment of the Archbishop & B^{ps}, & the Clergy of the Province of Canterbury in Convocation assembled, concerning divers assertions contained in the Books, lately published by William Whiston":¹ that the said Judgment being passd, & subscribd in due Form by both Houses, & signifyd to Us with all fitting Solemnity, may

¹ William Whiston (1667-1752), the translator of Josephus. In 1703 he succeeded Newton in the Lucasian chair at Cambridge; but in 1710 he was deprived of his Professorship, and banished from the University on account of his heretical opinions. The books referred to are probably the essay on the Apostolic Constitutions and the work entitled "Primitive Christianity revived."

80 PAPER ENDORSED BY HARLEY

afterwards, for y^e Instruction & Edification of all our good Subjects, be set forth & publishd by Our Royal Authority.

And our Hope is that the declar'd Opinion of Eight of Our Judges, & of Our Attorney & Sollicitor Generall, may farther induce You to exert the Jurisdiction vested in You by y^e Laws of this Realm, in Convening the Writer whose Opinions You have condemn'd, & inflicting upon Him such Spiritual Censures as his Crime may deserve, & such as may deterr Others from the like Attempts for the future. And so We bid you heartily farewell.

IV D 1

Paper endorsed by HARLEY:—Concerning the peace by
DR: ARBUTHNOT 16 Apr: 1718.

This is printed in the Appendix (III).

IV D 2

WILLIAM PENN¹ to HARLEY.

MY NOBLE FFRIEND

Pray permitt me to recommend the Pet^{a 2} of our Friends in Parlim^t, who are some of the most religious among us, & most Loyall to the Queen's Govern^t. We

¹ Founder of Pennsylvania (1644–1718).

² This seems to have been the Petition of the 27 Feb. 1707, for the relief of the Quakers.

hope we have gain'd some grounds with severall worthy members, that wish thou wouldst please to like their endeavours for us, which constrains this ffreedom, & we pray that Secretary S^t Johns may have a kinde hint from thee, wth will credit the good will of none of the meanest members of the house of co^m that will appear in our favour and that (I will answear for them) shall deserve the priviledge desired by them; who am wth the greatest sincerity and Respect

Thy ffaithfull & obliged ffriend
to serve thee

WM PENN.

The following letters are selected from Prior's correspondence with the Earl of Oxford during the negotiations that preceded the peace of Utrecht. From the prevailing tone of complaint it would seem that Prior, while he performed all the functions, lacked the full prestige of an ambassador. The rest of the correspondence, so far as it has been preserved, is printed in the Appendix (VI).

IV D 8

From MATTHEW PRIOR to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[A fragment undated.]

I need not say how much I desire to hear from Your Lordsp if in regard to my own affairs only: I wish most certainly to be at home, and I rest assured that your Goodness to Me will settle Me near You in such a Manner as that I may assure You all the remaining part of my life, of my zeal for your service, w^{ch} I think inseparable to the good of my

Country: looking over my expenses I find with concern enough they are great, and what is worse I know not how to help the continuance of them: the Station I am in, the people with whom I live, the dearness of things in regard to the table I must keep, the Number of English here, and Scots (for too morrow is S^t Andrews day, and I wear a Cross and treat the Northbritons,) Horses, footmen, Grooms, Cooks, butlers, are subjects upon w^{ch} I beleive the D: of Shrewsb^y⁷¹ has informed Your Lordsp in such a Manner as to show You that tho' Matthew Prior can (like m^r Moncton) live upon Eggs and Green Sauce, her Maj^{ties} Plenipotentiary Mons^r Prior à Paris can make as great an expence as if he was born to a fortune, and cannot help doing otherwise, upon the lowering the Especies, I send Your Lordsp a bill w^{ch} You must pardon when I tell You that I shall by so doing pay my debts, and be ready to receive Your Commands as to my return to You, that I shall have payed L^d Johnstones quarterage and some other things of that Nature: and that in the whole when I have the hon^r to see You I can give You an acc^t of all I have expended: parlons d'autres choses.

The King yesterday talking to Yo^r humble serv^t at table brought in that the D: d'Aumon^t² was mightily satisfied with the Entertainment he had found in Eng^d and particularly with the favour he had received from the Queen. I did not let this Moment slip, in doing justice to the Queen's goodness on all occasions, and particularly where it related to any who had the honour of being his Maj^{ties} Ministers and that as to her Maj^{ties} friendship to Him personally, the Queen took every opportunity to demonstrate it.

¹ This reference shows that the letter must have been written before the recall of the Duke in 1713.

² "The Duc d'Aumont, an extravagant, and, in Swift's parlance, 'expensive' *grand seigneur*, who came over caracoling at the end of 1712 as French Ambassador, to the popular detestation." *Sichel, Boilingbrook*, p. 294.

IV D 4

PARIS, the $\frac{1}{12}$ May, 1714.

MY LORD

By an express some days since from L^d Bolingb: I received order to represent and settle here 2 great points, the first that the Neutrality of Italy should be understood by the Emp^r to continue, and to be looked upon as an Essential part of the Peace in order to secure the K: of Sicily and the other Italian Princes; the other, to remind this Court that the Queen expects the performance of the Article by w^{ch} the King promises to leave the affairs of Religion in Germany as stipulated by the treaty of Westphalia. To both these it is with some satisfaction I tell yo^r Lordsp I have received a full and satisfactory answer, that this King will give his orders as desired to his Plenipotentiaries at Bade, does understand and will act upon these points in her Maj^{ty}'s Sence and meaning, and will continue conjointly and cordially with her Maj^{ty} to settle the repose of Italy, the satisfaction of Germany, and the Peace of Europe. I shall soon fix the long disputed affair of Roccabruno and Moulon between the K: of Sicily and the Prince of Monaco, and then I am ready to follow,

Quo me fata trahunt,

for in your commands I shall place my Destiny. mons^r de Torcy held a long discourse with Me yesterday: he has heard, it seems, more particularly than I, that I am not to be long here, and desired Me in friendship to tell Him in what Post your Lordsp intended to fix Matthew's fortune etc. w^{ch} (for the best reason in the world) I did not answer: he thinks I am

to go to Bade, Gaultier has however, I find, told him or at least Iberville has, that I shall be added to the Com^m for the Commerce with France: either of those are affairs of 8 or 4 Months only, and I say, I submit with all willingness and obedience but my dear L^d Treas^r if I have laboured, and the Queen is satisfied with my services to her, or your Lordsp with the sincerity of my zeal to you,

Per Te Deos oro et nostram amicitiam—

that before I leave France you will please to confer on Me what Her Maj^{ties} Goodness and your choice think proper for Me, and that when I take my leave of the King and Court I may convince them that I have not behaved my Self so here, as to be look't upon as a Cast-away at home: and that those who have employed Me do at least dare to own Me: this, if it were in any body's case but my own, I would affirm to be for the Queen's Interest, and your honour; and as the report of my being shortly to be recalled is gott abroad, I own to you I begin to look very simply already that mons^r Prior, the English Plenipotentiary, my Lord Treas^r *supposed* Friend can only say he is going back again to the place from whence He came,—if you would not have Me confounded to death, my Lord, you will enable Me to give the Curious with whom I must converse here a more positive Answer: you know I am your Servant for life, why therefore will you defer to make that life easy to Me?

Adieu, my Lord, I have conjured mons^r de Torcy not to write to you upon this Subject, and I begg of you not to remember I have written, if you think proper to refuse what I so earnestly implore: however short my stay here may be, or tho' my Letters of Revocation be already on the road, I am obliged to make a very considerable additional Expence, for

that I as all public Ministers putt my Equipage and Servants into mourning for the D: of Berry.¹

I have sent Barton with these Letters that He may bring Me your Lordsp's commands in case any thing particular frō you to Mons^r Torcy is to be said or transacted before I am recalled, and once more I begg you that I may be enabled to say and prove here that I am not disgraced nor abandoned but called home to SOMETHING.

Adieu, my Lord, that God may bless you and yours for ever is the prayer of your at present very melancholy and dejected Ser^t

M. PRIOR.

IV D 5

PARIS the $\frac{29}{18}$ July 1714.

MY LORD

I take this opportunity of writing to You by m^r Southwell what I think for your service and what I would not venture by the ordinary post. He knows nothing of the Content of what He brings You ; the Misunderstandings between the Ministers at Whitehall is the subject of every Man's reflexion here, my duty to the Queen and my sincere Friendship to your Lordsp oblige Me to tell You that her Service and your honour suffer in this matter, mons^r de Torcy thinks You act wth a Negligence that looks like Despair, and seem to lett the world shift for it self, He asks Me when I heard From Your Lordsp: what shall I say to him ? I have desired and wth is more, You have promised that I should have your Commands, and the rules of the Obedience I ought to pay to them, by the Messenger, he

¹ Charles, Duc de Berry (1686-1714), grandson of Louis XIV.

is returned without a letter or a word of your Mouth to Me: what to my Self shall I think of my Self? I would know if as to a Defensive treaty to be made with France in favour of Sicily it be not absolutely necessary to engage Spain to enter into a like Obligation as soon as the Instrum^t is ready and agreed to. if L^d Bingley has orders to act herein at Madrid as I should do here with the Cardinal Del liudici. I would know what answer I may make to the El^r of Bavaria from her Maj^{ty} or what esteem She places upon the tender of that Prince's future friendsp: I would humbly ask if at any time I am to say any thing to mons^r de Torcy from my L^d Treasurer, or if He is or is not to think my Lord the Minister of G: Britain: if you are the Minister, my Lord, I tell you plainly the business suffers by your continued Silence: if You will not be such, and that (as We too generally talk here) You will retire, and consequently Matthew may hang himself, why even in this Case Matthew should be writ to, his conduct should be directed, and his actions justified before He leaves this Court by the Person who sent Him to it. for the rest, as to my own Circumstances, desires or wants I say nothing, they are left to your disposal, and *God's will be done.* provided you think I have done my utmost as to what my duty to Her Maj^{ty} and my regard towards Your Self required.

Our calling upon a popish Emp^r to be a guarant^e to a protest^t Succession, appears very odd here as it will do at Vienne: our Sicilian friends here say their Master has entered his protest in Parl^t and saved his own right, m^r Lecherine would not without great reluctance at my table drink to the El^r of hanover's health; I don't write of this to any body

—Incedis per ignes
Suppositos Cineri doloso.

A Man who is come from Hanover to bring some Jewels

to Madame w^{ch} the El^{co} Dowager Sophia left her says the El^r thinks Montgollen &c and ought to &c and speaks with the utmost contempt of our Nation. this sort of discourse the Man has held here publicly, w^{ch} it is fit You know, and make the use You judge proper of this information.

D: d'Aumond or Nadal have a constant Corresp^t at London that writes very foolishly. it would be well if some of his letters could be intercepted, read, sealed again and sent forward.

Mons^r de Torcy was very warm some Months since upon sending an Ambass^r to London and having the like here: and Gaultier was to find if You would rather have mons^r Mezieres than any other, but He does not know what to make of Us; I have given him my letters of Revocation 8 months since, had sold some of my Goods, hear nothing since, have bought other, &c.

Qui gouverne aujourduy en Angleterre?

I have tyred You, my Lord, I am without reserve, and wth all truth, Your most ob^t and most faithfull Ser^t

Mat:

Since I wrote this Epistle I receive his Excell^{cy} of Peterbrough: I have confronted him with Count Peron and mons^r de Torcy, and He will in 10 or 12 days be best able to give You an acc^t of leagues to be made in favour of the K: of Sicily and for the security of Italy.

Adieu, my Lord, all health and happiness attend You ever. friend Southwell who brings You this letter has behaved himself very prudently and much for the Queen's service and the credit of the Nation.

Yours ever

Mat.

IV D 6

PARIS the $\frac{18}{7}$ 1713.

MY LORD

The inclosed Transcript of what We send to L^d Dartmouth gives your Lordsp an acc^t that the Renonciation is performed and registered here wth all the Solemnity that the Nature of the thing and the manner of this Country admit. it is with great satisfaction that I tell Yo^r Lordsp I find this Court and People more rejoyced at it than We can be: the Instruments of this transaction wth We shall send You in few days will be as Authentic as you can wish, the whole to be comprehended in and ratified with the Peace:

I have already told Your Lordsp that the King's letters patent were very respectfull to the Queen, I may add that the manner of reading them was so likewise: where Her Maj^{ty} was named the Princes of the blood, and as well the Dukes and Peers, as the Premier president, and all the Judges rose up and put their Hatts off as they did when the King was named;

There is an old Form recited in every Stipulation made between the Crowns of France and Spain by wth France protests against the King of Spain being King of Navarre and D: of Burgundy: it is something like our Aquitain and Normandy at a Coronation while it was repeating Don D'Ossuna not knowing what it was fell into the greatest Agony imaginable, but his apprehensions abated as the thing was explained to Him.

I hope the Messenger who will in very few days bring Us an acc^t of the opening Your Parliament will likewise give Me a word from Your Lordsp (as I must continue to desire) con-

cerning those affairs wth really are more properly Yours than my Own. the Duke of Shrewsburie's Coaches are made, Horses bought, and all Parade for an Entry ready: if it be Her Maj^{ties} pleasure that I stay here I repeat that Her Honour can not dispense with the Cloathing her Second Minister, and upon the supposition that I am to be equipped, if I am to stay here as long as his Grace of Shrewsbury, (wth he seems to intimate) You have but one charge with Me; I am thinking further, if Her Maj^{ty} pleases to send a Charactered Ministry to congratulate the new King of Sicily, wth She has been pleased to make, the same benevolent power may easily erect Her Plenipot^y to France into an Ambassad^r to Savoy; and in this case One Equipage serves, I may grace the Duke's entry here, go on to Turin, and return heither for Yo^r future Commands: and in this case my dearest Brother Harley¹ can not have a better opportunity to see his relations here, and make the Tour of France in a short time: another thing is, may not He be joyned in a Commission with Me, (or if I sayd *I with Him*, it would be better manners) or might not He have the Character of Ambass^{dor} and I wait on Him to Turin in the same qualification as I have already to this Court. The like question may be asked in relation to the new King of Sardinia since both these Princes will most certainly assert their Royalty by sending Ambass^{es} to Her Maj^{ty}

If the good Bishop of Bristol returns as I hear He has a Mind to do, and it may be thought that enough remains yet undecided at Utrecht to justify the sending an other Minister thither, and your commands order Me to supply the Vacancy, in this case the same Equipage will serve, and my brother may see France, Flanders and Holland.

Or at last which is most desirable if Your Lordsp thinks nothing of this proper, and please to call Me home, pray 1st

¹ The Lord Treasurer's son, afterwards the second Earl of Oxford.

it be before the D: of Shrewsburie's Entry, and with a promise to Checquer Me, that putting Kings, Dukes, Powers, Coaches, Horses, and Horsemen, Equipage and Liveries out of my head I may pass my remaining life under your immediate protection and near your own person, which without affectation I love most sincerely, separte from all considerations even of the power You have to do Me good, or of the good You have already done Me: I can not finish my letter without desiring You to write to mons^r Torcy, since His friendship and Yours will be of the greatest service; the letter to yo^r relations concerning Your own family should likewise be remembered: Adieu, my L^d may God preserve Her Maj^{ty} and favour all your councils and designs:

I am ever with all respect and duty

My Lord

Yo^r Lordsp's most ob^d and most humble Ser^t

M. PRIOR.

V A 1

THE [second] EARL OF OXFORD *to* DEAN SWIFT.

GOOD M^r DEAN

Your letter of June the 14th in answer to mine of the 7th of April is come to my hands, and it is with no small concern that I have read it, and to find that you seem to have formed a resolution to put the History of the 4 last years of the Queen to the press, and a resolution taken without giving your friends and those that are greatly concerned some notice or suffering them to have a time to read the papers over, and to consider them, I hope it is not too late yet and that you will be so good as to let some friends here

see them before they are put to the press, and as you propose to have it printed here it will be easy to give Directions to have the papers delivered to whom you will give leave to see it, I desire to be one, this request I repeat again and hope you will grant. I do not doubt but there are many will perswade you to publish it but they are not proper Judges, their reasons may be of different kinds, & proceed from motives quite different. I am very sensible of your firm Love [and] regard for my father and upon that account I renew my request that you would at least deffer the printing this History till you have had the opinion of friends, you have forgot that you lent me the History to read when you was in England, and upon my memory I can truly say, I wish it was not printed. I would ask pardon for giving you this trouble but upon this affair, I am so nearly concerned that if I did not do my utmost to prevent it, I should never forgive myself.

I am very much obliged to you for your good and kind concern for me and my Family my Wife desires your acceptance of her most humble service, my Daughter desires the same, they both are very sensible of your good wishes for them.

I am with true esteem and respect

S^r y^r most obliged and most
humble serv^t

OXFORD.



I sent them to Windsor, next day which was Saturday; in the same coach; expecting they would come to some eclaircissement, But I followed them to Windsor; where my Lord Bolingbroke told me that my Scheme had come to nothing. Things went on at the same rate, They grew more estranged every day; My Lord Treasurer found his credit daily declining. In May before the Queen dyed, I had my last meeting with them at my Lord Mashams, He left us together, and therefore I spoke very freely to them both; and told them, I would retire, for I found all was gone; Lord Bolingbroke whispered me, I was in the Right. Your Father said, all would do well; I told him that I would go to Oxford on Monday; since I found it impossible to be of any Use. I took Coach to Oxford on Monday; went to a Friend in Berkshire; there stayd till the Queens death, and then went to my Station here; where I stayd twelve years and never saw my Lord your father afterwards. They could not agree about printing the History of the four last years: and therefore I have kept it to this Time, when I determine to publish it in London; to the confusion of all those Rascals who have accused that Queen and that Ministry of making a bad Peace; to which that Party entirely owes the Protestant Succession. I was for almost four years in the greatest Trust and Confidence with your Father the Lord Treasurer, as well as with my Lord Bolingbrook, and all others who had part in the Administration. I had all the Letters from the Secretaryes office during the Treaty of Peece; out of those, and what I learned from the Ministry, I formed that History which I am now going to publish for the Information of Posterity, and to controull the most impudent Falshoods which have been published since. I wanted no kind of materiells, I knew your Father better than you could at that time; and I do impartially think him the most Virtuous Minister, and the most able

that ever I remember to have read of; If your Lordship hath any particular Circumstances that may fortify what I have said in the History; such as Letters, or other Memorials, I am content they should be printed at the end, by way of appendix: I loved my Lord your Father better than any other Man in the World, although I had no obligation to him on the score of Preferment, having been driven to this wretched Kingdom (to which I was almost a Stranger) by his want of power to keep me in what I ought to call my own Country; though I happened to be dropped here, and was a Year old before I left it, and to my Sorrow, did not dye, before I came back to it again. I am extremely glad of the Felicity you have in your allyances, and desire to present my most humble Respects to my Lady Oxford, and your Daughter the Dutchess; as to the History, it is onely of affairs, which I knew very well; and had all the Advantages possible to know, when you were in some sort but a Lad. One great design of it, is to do Justice to the Ministry at that time, and to refute all the objections against them, as if they had a design of bringing in Popery and the Pretender; and further, to demonstrate, that the present Settlement of the Crown was chiefly owing to my Lord your Father. I can never expect to see England; I am now too old and sickly, added to almost a perpetuall Deafness and Giddyness. I live a most domestick Life; I want nothing that is necessary; but I am in a cursed factious oppressed miserable country, not made so by Nature, but by the Slavish, hellish Principalls of an execrable prevayling Faction in it. Farewell my Lord: I have tyred you and my self. I desire again to present my most humble Respects to my Lady Oxford, and the Dutchess your Daughter.¹ Pray God preserve you long and happy. I shall diligently inquire into your

¹ Margaret Cavendish, who (in 1734) married the second Duke of Portland. She was Prior's "noble, lovely, little Peggy."

Conduct, from those who will tell me; You have hitherto continued right; let me hear that you persevere so; Your Task will not be long; for I am not in a condition of health or Time to trouble this world, and I am heartily weary of it already, and so should be in England, which I hear is full as corrupt as this poor enslaved country. I am with the truest Love and Respect, my Lord

Your most obedient and obliged
humble servant

J SWIFT.

DUBLIN. *Jun.* 14th 1737.

V A 8

The Right Honorable the Lord Treasurer Debtor to
Doctor Jonathan Swift ¹

A Ptolomy best Edition	.	.	.	.	2	10	0
A Pair of Steel Snuffers	.	.	.	.	0	12	0
A Shakespear the Folio Edition	.	.	.	.	1	0	0
A Table Book like Your Lordships	.	.	.	.	5	0	0
A Bible	.	.	.	.	1	10	0
For a Dinner I lost by Y ^r L ^d ship's dining abroad.	.	.	.	.	0	2	6
In all					10	14	6

¹ In the handwriting of Swift.

V A 4

March 18 1714.

Receved for my Lady Henrieta Harleys picture halfe
in hand, therty Ginis by me

G. KNELLER.

V A 5

"Poems on Several Occasions" by SOAME JENYNS.¹ Presentation copy in MS. to the Right Honourable the LADY MARGARET CAVENDISH HARLEY.

V A 6

Two choruses to the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM's² Tragedy of Brutus "written at the command of his Grace, by MR. POPE."

The (second) Earl of Oxford has added this MS. note:

"This paper was given me in the Salon at Buckingham House On the Eleventh of January 1783 Being the Dukes

¹ Soame Jenyns (1704-1787), author of a "Free enquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil." His Poems were first published in 1752. Richard Cumberland, whose eldest daughter married Lord Edward Bentinck, writes of Soame Jenyns (*Memoirs*, i. 336): "He was the man, who bore his part in all societies with the most even temper and undisturbed hilarity of all the good companions, whom I ever knew."

² John (Sheffield), Duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1647-1720).

Birth Day, where the Dutchess caus'd this Entertainment to be Performed with Great Magnificence & Order; the Musick being composed by Sig^r Bononcini Sung By the Best Voices Mrs Anastasia Robinson and others & the best Instruments of all sorts."

He was the friend of Dryden, who dedicated his translation of the *Æneid* to him; and of Pope, who at the request of his widow edited an edition of his collected works (1723). He recast Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* in the form of two separate plays, one of which is the Brutus mentioned here. The Duchess who gave the entertainment is his third wife Katharine, Dowager Countess of Anglesey, an illegitimate daughter of James II. by Katharine Sedley. The Duke is Edmund, the second Duke of Buckingham, who died in 1735. Giovanni Buononcini is well known—or rather almost forgotten—as Handel's rival. Mrs. Robinson was at this time the recognised queen of the operatic stage, and a close ally of Buononcini. She was secretly married (about 1722) to the eccentric Earl of Peterborough, though he never acknowledged her as his wife until the year of his death (1735). Dr. Burney, in his *History of Music*, published a long account of Mrs. Anastasia Robinson from particulars supplied to him by Mrs. Delaney. For example, he writes (iv. 248):—"Among the persons of distinction that professed a friendship for Mrs. A. Robinson were the Earl and Countess of Oxford, daughter-in-law to the lord treasurer Oxford, who not only bore every public testimony of their affection and esteem for Mrs. A. Robinson, but Lady Oxford attended her when she was privately married to the E. of P[eterboro] and Lady P. ever acknowledged her obligations with the warmest gratitude; and after Lady Oxford's death, she was particularly distinguished by the Duchess of Portland, Lady Oxford's daughter, and was always mentioned by her with the greatest kindness for the many friendly offices she used to do her in her childhood when in Lady Oxford's family, which made a lasting impression upon the Duchess of Portland's noble and generous heart."

V B 1

Commonplace book, with notes and sketches in prose and verse
by MATTHEW PRIOR. *For example, he writes :*

"I was melancholy at Versailles and Marli to see such magnificence in the house and gardens, and such poverty and beggary all around. His statues indeed are as if they were alive, and if it did not look too like a turn, I should say his subjects look like statues."

V B 2

*Note book of the second EARL OF OXFORD.*¹

Monday 31 (Aug. 1713)

"I was married between 11 & 12 o'clock at noon to the Lady Henrietta Cavendishe Holles² by Dr. Mat. Brailsford Dean of Welles Lord Cheney³ gave her. Ld Treasurer,⁴ Mr Auditor Harley, Mr John Morley, Mr William Wenman, Mrs Anne Grant, and Mrs Judith Brown were present in the Drawing Room at Wimple in Cambridgeshire.

Ld Cheney went away before dinner."

¹ Edward (Harley), who succeeded his father as Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer in 1724.

² Only daughter and heiress of John (Holles) Earl of Clare, who, in 1694, was created Marquess of Clare and Duke of Newcastle. He died from a fall from his horse at Welbeck in 1711.

³ William (Cheyne), second Viscount Newhaven and Lord Cheyne (1657-1728).

⁴ His father, the first Earl.

V B 3

To my LORD HARLEY Ex Tempore.

Pen, Ink and Wax and Paper send
 To the kind Wife, the lovely Friend
 Smiling bid her freely write
 What her happy thoughts indite,
 Of Virtue, Goodness, Peace and Love,
 Thoughts w^{ch} Angels may approve.

This is written in Lady Harriette's hand ¹

V B 4

*Satyre nouvelle faite par MONSIEUR BOILEAU contre les
 Monopoleurs Le 16^e jour Daoust 1698. Ecrite de la main
 de MONS^r BOILEAU.*

In spite of the clearness of this description the Satire cannot be ascribed to Boileau. The handwriting is not his, and the style of the whole composition is far below the level of what we should expect from a masterhand even in a first draft. The Satire is aimed at the Jesuits and the Religious orders; but the topics are conventional, and they are treated without a sparkle of wit or turn of epigram—a fact in itself sufficient to exclude the authorship of the real Boileau. The MS. was

¹ Henrietta Cavendish, who married (in 1713) Lord Harley afterwards the second Earl of Oxford.

doubtless brought from Paris by the Earl of Portland, and from the fact of its careful preservation we may conclude that it was taken for an original. It is printed in the Appendix (IV).

V B 5

The works of MR. POPE. London, 1717.

With the autograph inscription:—

To the Right Honorable the Earl of Oxford, From his most obliged, most obedient & faithful Serv^t A. Pope.

V B 6

Warrant from QUEEN ANNE to the DUKE OF NEWCASTLE¹ to kill stags in Sherwood Forest. May 20, 1702.

Signed by Godolphin.

V C 1

Note-book with entries by DENNIS HOLLES.²

These are of a very miscellaneous character, including a horoscope and other astrological notes, and some attempts in

¹ John (Holles), Marquess of Clare and Duke of Newcastle (1661–1711).

Dennis Holles (*circa* 1538–1590) was the eldest son of Sir William Holles by Dame Anne his wife. He married Eleanor, daughter of Edmund Lord Sheffield. Her mother was the daughter of John (Vere) fifteenth Earl of Oxford.

verse. The following specimens are perhaps worth preserving on the author's account, if not on their own.

D Dreadfully I doubte lest that disdayne
 E Enlarginge yo^r ensence & encrease my payne
 N Not naked but nedye of yo^r good grace
 S Seinge y^e semelines of yo^r sweete face
 E Especially & eftsones engrafte in my harte
 L Like one y^t longe hath lyen & can not starte
 H Have not I hard happe if ye be not better
 O Only on you O Love I haue the greater
 L Let me not Languyshe w^{ch} love yoⁿ Liberally
 L Lende me yo^r Love Likewise devvoide of Lecherye
 I I am iustely ioyned to yoⁿ in perfecte Love
 S So y^t I shall soner sincke rather than once remove.

Those y^t will longe lyve & wyell dye
 Lett them followe y^e cōsell of these doctoⁿ thre

Doctor Dyet.

Wth a Stomacke I yoⁿ advise
 fro dyner & sopper vp to ryse
 beware of rere suppers if yoⁿ take thē late
 when yoⁿ should slepe y^e will make yoⁿ wake.

Doctor Quyet.

Lyttell to medle but for necessite
 is cause of quietnes & perfecte charite
 Sufficent is youngth¹ this worlde is not durable
 y^e that quietly do lyve shall haue life eternall.

¹ For *youth*. The original which is here somewhat defaced seems to have *younght*.

Doctor Meryman.

To prolonge yo' lyfe & cōforte yo' spirite
 take myrth for yo' medycine aboue surgẽ or leche
 beware of phisičons it is ther facultye
 to put men in cōfort till ther purse be emptye.

1558.

A curious fact appears in this book, namely, that Denis Holles employed a secret alphabet, clumsy and complicated in form but by no means inscrutable, for preserving love philtres and other matter of the kind useful or indispensable in the *ars amandi*. This shows him in the light in which Gervase Holles (quoted by Collins, *Historical Collections*, p. 77), describes him:—"He had his weakness too, which was an immoderate love to women, and from which, neither the virtues nor fertility of a noble wife could reclaim him."

The following may be taken as an example, the letters in italics representing those that are disguised in the original.

Secreta *mulierum* cognoscere. Recipe herbā brone vel cellidonia et si ponis sub aure eius dextra et *dicet* tibi ònia que fecit et est verū et expertū.

V C 2

Bible. Cambridge, 1661.

Inscribed :—

Decemb: 28 1667.

For my son Robert Harley Josh. i. 8. This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein: for then thou shalt

BOOK OF DEVOUT MEDITATIONS 103

make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success.

EDW. HARLEY.¹

And (in the handwriting of the second Earl of Oxford).

May 1724.

It pleased God to take away my Dear Father.

V C 3

Bible and Prayer Book in one volume, 1633.

Silk binding of the period.

V C 4

Bible and Prayer Book in one volume, 1633.

With the Inscription :—

Mathew Prior His Book, 167 $\frac{1}{2}$.

V C 5

Book of devout Meditations, 1628.

In the handwriting of Brilliana Harley.

Brilliana, Lady Harley (1600?–1648) was the second daughter of Sir Edward (afterwards Viscount) Conway. She

¹ Sir Edward Harley (1624–1700), governor of Dunkirk.

was named after the Brill in Holland, of which place her father was governor at the time of her birth. She was married to Sir Robert Harley¹ (as his third wife) in 1628. Her defence of Brampton Castle against the Royalist forces in 1648 has secured for her a permanent and honourable place in the history of the period.

V D 1

THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH *to the* EARL OF OXFORD.

Ausburgh the 20th of Dec 1711.

.

I have desired Mr S^t John to speak to your Lord^{sh}: about my affairs, by two equipages in one yeare, without any money advanced for either, with my servts and baggage dispersed in so many places, by the great expences of travailling by Post, & by other accidents which happen to mee only by a zeal for the service, I am out of a considerable summe of Ready Money, my Circumstances are not like ministers in first places that have taken their measures, so y^t My Lord unlesse I can depend upon the punctuall payment of the Queen's allowances every six months to which I add too much of my own. I am sure you are too much my Friend to expose me to inconveniencies abroad, & that you will restore mee to York Buildings, my Bottle of Clarett & Dr Swift, I take it for an ill Omen, and a sign I am insignificant that I have not had a letter from him this journey, but I believe all sort of writing is forbid in England, but impudent Libells against, and Scurrilous reflexions upon the Government.

¹ Father of Sir Edward Harley (V C 2).

V D 2

VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE¹ *to the* EARL OF OXFORD.

WHITEHALL *past eight*

I only trouble y^r L^p with this note to enquire whether you have any letters for Prior, or others for France, because I am going to dispatch Barton² to Paris. I writ, as you order'd me to y^e Queen.

I am ever my Lord y^r L^{ps}
obedient & most
humble servant
BOLINGBROKE.

Ld H. Treas^r

V D 3

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND *to* HARLEY

Tuesday night.

S^R

Having nott had the good fortune, to meet you to-day, at y^r office, makes me give you this trouble, to acquaint you that my Ld. Marlborough & Ld. Treasurer,³ & the two Envoys of Savoy, will be at my office, to morrow at six a clock

¹ Henry (St. John), Viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751). The letter must have been written between the 7th July 1712 when he was raised to the Peerage, and the 1st April 1713 when the treaty of Utrecht was signed.

² The Queen's messenger.

³ Godolphin.

in the evening, where I beg you would meet them; I am with
great truth

S^r y^r most humble & obedient Servant
SUNDERLAND.¹

V D 4

JOSEPH ADDISON *to* HARLEY.

SIR

By my L^d Sunderlands orders I send you a Copy of the
Speech that the Venetian ambassadour designs to make at his
Audience which his L^dp desires you will be pleas'd to lay
before the Queen that H.M. may be timely inform'd of it and
prepard with an Answer. I sent for it in the morning but did
not receive it from S^r Ch. Cotterel² till this moment.

I am with the utmost respect

Sir

Your most obedient
and most Humble Servant

J. ADDISON.

Wednesday. 8 a Clock.

The R^t Hon^{ble} Mr Secretary Harley.

The letter is undated; but it must have been written
between Decem. 1706, when Sunderland succeeded Sir Charles
Hedges as Secretary of State, and the fall of the Whig
Ministry in 1710.

¹ Charles (Spencer), third Earl of Sunderland (1674-1722). He was made
Secretary of State on the 3 Decem. 1706, and appointed Addison as one of his
under-secretaries.

² Sir Charles Ludowick Cotterell, master of the ceremonies. He died
in 1710.

V D 5

THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH¹ to HARLEY.RATISBONNE, *the* 15th [Feb.] 17¹⁰₁₁.

New stile.

You must accept of a very indifferent letter from one going to Vienna in this season a cruell one as ever was known, my hands are frozen, and I am hardly awake, my comfort is y^e Princes of Germany better bred than we are provide me with meat enough, & Tockai in abundance, & are so well instructed in our affairs that they drink your health to me in most unreasonable Brimmers. I doe my best on that occasion, as I will in all others where you have a concern. . . . I would give Twenty pistoles for the least paper perfumed with Tobacco out of an English coffee house, the least bitt of a Harwitch dream or a scrapp of any such authentick paper of Modern date, I had rather have three Lines from Dr. Swift this moment at Ratisbonne, than all that ever was publish'd in the Loure print. But by the bye, if you doe not imediatly make a Rich Dean or a poor Bishop of the Reverend afore-said, send him to me that he may be a Cardinall. . . .

¹ Charles (Mordaunt), third Earl of Peterborough (1658–1735), famous for his eccentric but brilliant military achievements in Spain, was at this time on his way to Vienna as ambassador extraordinary.



two copies of it with a very civil letter to my Lady Dutchesse desiring her to do Me the honour to give one of those copies to the Queen, I sent these by Ad. Churchill but was surprized some days after to find that the Dutchess sent Me back the packet by M^r Churchill unopen'd declaring that she would not receive anything of my writing, for that she was persuaded that I could not mean well to her or her family.

Nov. 1705.

The D. of Marlborough at his return received me very kindly, and upon my telling him what had happened and my desiring him to take off any ill impression which my Lady Dutchess might have conceived of Me, told me that tho' I were not a married man I could but know that women would have their humours, but assured me that the thing should do me no prejudice. He likewise spoke to my L^d Treasurer in my behalf and asked him for my arrear, tho' that sollicitation had no effect. The next Campagne I wrote four or five times to His Grace and had two or three letters from him, and upon the battle of Ramilies I made the ode in imitation of Spencer for which His Grace returned me his particoular thanks. I gave it to the Queen, who said she took it very kindly of me. The Whiggs tho' they did not openly censure this poem were no way satisfied that I had writt it; they say'd the imitation was of a verse now grown obsolete, the style a little hard &; in the meantime none of them writt, at least none of note, except Dennis, and Walsh and Roe who came out about a year after; the Tories on the other side cryed up my poem too much.

1706

. 170⁶/₇ From the D. of Marlborough's coming home this
fr. 1705 year till his return to Flanders he was particularly
to 1707. kind in his discourse to me ; yet I could not but observe
 all this time that my Lord Treasurer looked more
 coldly upon me than he used to do, and when I took
 occasion twice or thrice to speak to him concerning
 what was of consequence to Her Majesty's service,
 he gave me but general or ambiguous answers :
 hence I very plainly perceived my favour with him
 declined ; and I was the more assured of this unhappy
 Truth when being commissioned by my Lord Jersey
 to carry a message to my Lord Treasurer having
 done my errand and received his answer, I told him
 that I took that opportunity to tell him that I hoped
 my behaviour was such in an obedient respect and
 zeal for Her Majesty's service and in a constant
 study of what might any way be satisfactory to His
 Lordship that I believed and presumed I had his
 protection, and would continue to deserve it, to which
 he answered he would protect me if he could : if he
 could or no, or how he did may be known from this
 instance : about March he sent to me and bid me
 come to him, he began that he did not doubt but
 that I had heard there was to be a change in the
 Commission, I said I had heard so indeed from the
 common talk, but had less heeded it, not imagining
 myself concerned in it ; that I relyed upon his
 protection, and did not doubt but that if Her Majesty
 thought proper to remove me, His Lordship's good-
 ness would find something else for me ; he said with
 a little warmth that I might be of the number of
 those who should be reduced, and that the Queen
 had a great many to provide for ; I say'd I had read

S^t Paul and Epictetus and must be satisfied with what my superiors thought proper for me; he say'd care should be taken of me so that I should not fall.

Upon this I spoke to my L^d of Marl who bid me be quiet, and assured me he would be my friend, that he had spoke to the Queen and to my L^d. Treasurer about me, and that I ought to be satisfied. I was ill when His Grace went to Flanders, so I did not take my leave of Him.

April 22.

The Postboy assured Me I was no longer of the Commission, and being that morning at the board I and my fellow Com^r were informed that there was a warrant in the Secretaries office for a new Commission for L^d Stamford, L^d Herbert, M^r Munceton and *Ap: 28th* M^r Pulteney instead of M^r Pollexfen, M^r Blathwayt, myself and M^r Cecill. I waited on my L^d Treasurer who told Me that I was in Her Maj:^{ties} favour, and that something should be done for Me, but that I must have Patience and Discretion.

VI A 1

Orang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris, by Edward Tyson, M.D.
London, 1699.

With the autograph of John Locke.

VI A 2

Labyrinthe de Versailles, 1679. *Bound for Louis XIV.*

VI A 3

ΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΑΚΡΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΟΔΑΙ [sic], καὶ τὰ ΣΑΠΦΟΥΣ, καὶ ΕΡΙΝΝΑΣ
ΛΕΙΨΑΝΑ.

Edinburgi, 1754. *Printed on silk.*

VI A 4

Brief Animadversions on, } & { Additional Explanatory
Amendments of, } Records to,
The Fourth Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England.
By William Prynne. London, 1669. *Charles II.'s copy.*

VI A 5

Le Liure des statuts & ordonnances de l'ordre Sainct Michel,
estably par le treschrestien Roy de France Loys vnzieme de
ce nom. *Bound for Henri II. with his initials & the emblems
of Diane de Poitiers.*

VI A 6

Discovrs sur les Arcs Triomphavx dressés en la Ville d'Aix, à l'heureuse arriuée de tres-Chrestien, tres Grand, & tres-Iuste Monarque Lovys XIII. Roy de France, & de Nauarre. Aix, 1624. *Louis XIII.'s copy.*

VI B 1

THE WORKES OF BENJAMIN JONSON. London, 1640. *The second volume, including "The King's Entertainment at Welbeck," 1633; and at Bolsover, 1634.*

VI B 2

"CHRIST MADE SIN. . . ." Upon Occasion of an Exception taken at Pinnars-Hall, 28 January, 1689, at Re-printing the Sermons of Dr. Tobias Crisp. London, 1691. *Presentation Copy to Queen Mary II.*

VI B 3 and 4

SCULPTURA, by John Evelyn. London, 1662. *With an engraving by Prince Rupert.*

Evelyn writes:—"This obligation then we have to His

114 GREAT SEAL OF CROMWELL

Highness Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of Rhine, etc. who has been pleased to cause the *instruments* to be expressly fitted, to shew me, with his own hands, how to manage and conduct them on the *plate*, that it might produce the effects I have so much magnified, and am here ready to shew the world, in a *piece* of his own illustrious *touching*."

VI B 5

Great Seal of Oliver Cromwell.

VI B 6

Discorsi di Nicolò Machiavelli. Aldus, 1540. *Grolier binding*.

VI C 1

The First & Second Part of the Signal Loyalty and Devotion of Gods true Saints and Pious Christians (as also of Idolatrous Pagans) towards their Kings. By William Prynne.

London, 1660.

Charles II.'s copy.

VI C 2

MS. Copy of the Statutes of the most noble Order of the Garter. 21 April 1741. *The second Duke of Portland's copy.*

VI C 3

The same. 24 Mar. 1696. *The Earl of Portland's copy.*

VI C 4

MS. Accompt of Customes & the Severall Imposts Collected
throughout England & Wales beginning Michās 1671
successively. *William III.'s copy.*

VI C 5

The Opening of Rivers for Navigation. By Francis Matthew.
London, 1660. *Charles II.'s copy.*

VI C 6

Bible. Printed by James Watson, Edinburgh, 1714. With
a note:

*"This Book was produced in the House of Peers, at the Trial
between M^r Watson & M^r Baskett, the 14th & 19th of February,
1717¹*

18

¹ Watson, as King's Printer, had claimed the right, under the Act of Union, of printing the Bible and circulating it in the United Kingdom. Baskett, on the other hand, claimed the right not only to print Bibles but to sell them in Scotland, and he prosecuted Watson's agent for selling in England Bibles printed in Scotland. The cause was eventually decided in Baskett's favour.

VI C 7

MS. Copy of the words of a service composed "for y^e Solemnity & Consecration of y^e Right Honourable Lord Harley's Chappel at Wimpole, by Tho: Tudway¹ D^r in Music, and Master of y^e Music to his Lordship's Chappel."

With a note:

*H. Cavendishe Holles Harley Given me by the Composer
Sept. 1722*

VI C 8

Actes of the General Assembly of the Clergy of France.
Anno Domini. 1682. London, 1682. Charles II.'s copy.

VI D 1

Book containing copies of letters from Charles I. and Charles II. to the Earl of Newcastle.

¹ Thomas Tudway (d. 1726) was a fellow pupil of Purcell under Dr. Blow. He afterwards became Professor of Music in the University of Cambridge, and Composer and Organist extraordinary to Queen Anne. Hawkins writes, "The favour shewn him by Lord Oxford, together with his merit in his profession, procured him admittance into a club, consisting of Prior, Sir James Thornhill, Christian the seal engraver, Bridgman the gardner, and other ingenious artists, which used to meet at Lord Oxford's once a week. Sir James Thornhill drew all their portraits in pencil, and amongst the rest that of Dr. Tudway playing on the harpsichord, and Prior scribbled verses under the drawings" (*History of Music*, v. 93).

VI D 2

Prayer Book. 1669. With a MS. note by [Frances Pierrepont] the Duchess of Newcastle:

The Gift [of] Marke Anthony Benoyst Esq: To my Lord Henry Duke of Newcastle att the New Building of his Chapell att Wellbeck. Octo: 1677

Hee was Gouvernour to my Lord to his Elder Brother and to my Lords only sonn.

F. Newcastle.

VI D 8

Note in the handwriting of WILLIAM III.

His Majestie haveing perused and examined the severall accompts of the Receipts and Disbursments of his privy-purse, for the Years 1694, 1695, 1696 and 1697; made by the Earle of Portland as Keeper of the same; has aggree'd them with the Vouchers thereunto belonging, declaring, that He is intirely satisfied with them; dischargeing therefore, the said Earle and his Heirs, from all further demands or examination concerning the said accompts. Kensington the 8^d of Jan: 1697⁷.

WILLIAM R.¹

¹ A duplicate in Dutch, also signed by the King, is preserved at Welbeck.

the last Grantee claims, if it be still time, I am most ready to concur, zealously, in any Censure in the *scandalous unfitness* and *substantial injustice* of the Grant, over the generous Representative of the Confidential Minister of our Deliverer. At the same time, I can not help expressing a wish, of sollicitude, that, in the case in question, *the abuse of a Parliamentary Power to try the Law*, in a matter of *Property*, may be made to appear to satisfaction. I beg your Grace will be assured that nothing would give me more real pain than to seem wanting in respect to your Grace, or in Zeal for the Cause, except the being carry'd by Inclination, beyond the line of the equal Right of the subject; which, all the world knows, is far from your Grace's Intention.

I have the honor to be with the
utmost esteem and respect
My Lord,
Your Grace's most obedient
and most humble servant

CHATHAM

In 1765 the Duke of Portland had commenced an action in Chancery against Sir James Lowther about a fishery in the river Eden which he claimed by right of the manor of Carlisle. When the Duke's title came to be investigated it appeared that though the honour of Penrith had been granted by William III. to the first Earl of Portland the Forest of Inglewood and the socage manor of Carlisle, which the Duke and his advisers had assumed to be included in the grant, were expressly omitted, possibly, as the writer in the *Annual Register* remarks: because "the King who had sufficiently experienced the extreme jealousy of the Parliament and people, on every mark of attention which he shewed to his countrymen, did not choose to excite fresh clamours by an ample specification of terms in a grant to his favourite." But as the Duke's family had been in undisturbed possession both of the forest and of the manor for more than sixty years, no power could interfere with his tenure but that of the Crown on the principle *nullum tempus occurrit regi*. It should be remembered that the Duke of Portland had distinguished himself by strong opposition to Lord Bute, whose eldest daughter, on the other hand, was married to Sir James Lowther. Accordingly, in July 1767, Sir James Lowther

petitioned the Treasury for a grant of His Majesty's interest in the two properties for three lives, and in December of the same year the grant was made, its "scandalous unfitness" and "substantial injustice," as Chatham put it, notwithstanding. In the following year Sir George Savile moved in the House of Commons for leave "to bring in a bill for quieting the possessions of the Subject, and for amending and rendering more effectual an Act made in the twenty-first year of King James the First, intituled, an Act for the general quiet of the Subjects, against all pretences of concealment whatsoever," that is, "to make sixty years' possession in all future times a bar against the claims of the Crown." The motion was lost by twenty votes; but in 1769 it was passed with a clause allowing the grantees of the Crown "a year from its taking place for the prosecution of their claims." (*Annual Register*, 1771, p. 56.) Whereupon, "a most expensive suit was not only commenced against the Duke of Portland, but the whole county of Cumberland was thrown into a state of the greatest terror and confusion: 400 ejectments were served in one day" (*Ibid.*). In February, 1771, a bill was brought in by Sir William Meredith for the amendment of the *nullum tempus* Act by leaving out the clause of which Sir James Lowther had taken advantage to proceed against the Duke. The bill being rejected by nine votes, "It was much complained of upon this occasion, that, in a matter of dispute about private property, the whole weight and influence of government was, especially upon the last reading, thrown into one of the scales." (*Annual Register*, l.c., p. 59.) It was eventually decided by the Court of Exchequer, that Sir James Lowther's grant was invalid under the Civil List Act, and in 1787 the whole property was sold to the Duke of Devonshire by the Duke of Portland, whose own title had thus never been tested.

VII A 2

*Notice by SIR JAMES LOWTHER to the tenants of the forest of
Inglewood after the grant of the same.*

VII A 3

LORD NORTH¹ *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

7 Jan. 1768.

. . . As Chancellor of the Exchequer my share in this business was merely ministerial, & it is sufficiently justified by the order of the Treasury. As a Lord of Treasury, I conceive that it was my duty upon such a report from the Surveyor General, to endeavour, by the means that he advised, to recover the rights of the Crown, & I know of no engagement or promise, which ought, in point of honour, to prevent my concurrence in this measure. Our decision in this case is not final: the Question of right is to be tried before another tribunal; I can venture to promise, that, in the course of the trial, your Grace will not meet with any hard measure on the part of the Treasury, and that they will not deny you any fair advantage that they can give, without betraying the interests of the Crown. . . .

VII A 4

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON² *to the* SAME.

7 Jan. 1767.

If Mr. Cowper had wrote to your Grace as fully and as circumstantially as I had desired him, I am persuaded your

¹ Frederick, Lord North (1732–1792), afterwards (1790) second Earl of Guilford.

² Augustus Henry (Fitzroy), third Duke of Grafton (1735–1811), at this time First Lord of the Treasury.

Grace would have seen, from circumstances at present unknown to you, as I believe, that the Treasury are not blameable for an inconsistent conduct, of which you now accuse them. Your Grace shall have, my Lord, a full state of their Proceedings which I have ordered to be made out to prove this to you, & that the Board could not in justice delay the affair any longer. . . .

VII A 5

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE¹ *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

11 April 1768.

. . . Justice & Impartiality in Elections, & attending solely to national Points, (which is the Conduct, I know, that the Marquess, & our Friends intend to hold) will procure us the good opinion of the publick; and, your Grace's great success in driving that Invader of private Property, Sir James Lowther, almost out of his Country, will give Spirit to our Cause everywhere. The notorious attack upon your Grace's property; and your vigorous proceedings, & success at Carlisle & elsewhere, after it, will, I am persuaded, have the greatest effect upon the new Parliament. Everybody will see how your Grace has stood up for the Protection of private Property, against the illegal attempts of Administration, to invade it,—that I cannot but imagine, that Sir Geo: Savile's Motion will go without a negative. If so, your Grace will have done, as your design was, eminent service for the security of private property. . . .

¹ Thomas (Pelham-Holles) Duke of Newcastle under Lyne (1693–1768), for thirty years Secretary of State, and twice Prime Minister.

VII B 1

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE¹ to the DUKE OF PORTLAND.

CHATSWORTH, Aug. 30. 1763.

MY DEAR LORD,

I receiv'd late last night an Express from Mr. Pitt informing me that the King had sent for him on Saturday receiv'd him very graciously & heard him very patiently, he went the next morning to Claremont to communicate what had passed to the Duke of Newcastle, & they have desired me to come up to town to assist in forming an Administration.² I wou'd not delay one moment informing y^r Grace of this event which I am persuaded will not be disagreeable, I am just setting out for Town where if you do not come up I shall be proud to obey your commands.

I am with the greatest regard
my D^r L^d Y^r Grace's most
faithfull &c.

DEVONSHIRE

¹ The fifth Duke (1748–1811).

² Lord Hardwicke in a letter to his son, Lord Royston, gives a long account of this incident (*Chatham Correspondence*, II. p. 237): "On the next day (Friday) Mr. Pitt received from the King *an open note unsealed*, requiring him to attend his Majesty on Saturday noon, at the Queen's palace in the Park. In obedience thereto, Mr. Pitt went on Saturday at noon-day through the Mall in his gouty chair, the boot of which (as he said himself) makes it as much known as if his name was writ upon it, to the Queen's palace. He was immediately carried into the closet; received very graciously; and his Majesty began . . . by ordering him to tell him his opinion of things and persons at large, and with the utmost freedom." The negotiation came to nothing, and on August 30 Lord Shelburne wrote to Pitt congratulating him on "a negotiation being at an end which carried through the whole of it such shocking marks of insincerity."

VII B 2

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

17 June 1765.

. . . I hear (tho' it is *a great secret*, & your Grace will not mention it from me,) that our great affair is in a very promising *right* way at present. The Duke of Grafton goes this day to Hayes, with an invitation *from the King* to the master of it. We all have great obligations to the Duke for this signal mark of his Patience Condescension and Judgment. Sure the great man, after all that has passed, will not refuse *the King*; & if he does, sure our good friends . . . will not approve it. . . .

VII B 8

The SAME to the SAME.

18 June 1765.

. . . The Duke of Cumberland¹ wrote a letter himself last night to Mr. Pitt, by the King's order, & in His Majesty's presence, that Mr. Pitt should be at the Queen's House, to-morrow morning, to attend the King there. The Duke was to see the King in the evening; & then I was to have a summons to attend His Royal Highness; whether in town or country I know not. It is impossible, after this, for Mr. Pitt to refuse; If he does, he must be condemned by all the world. . . .

¹ The Duke of Cumberland's letter is published in Taylor and Pringle's edition of *The Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, II. p. 311.

VII B 4

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

1 July 1765.

. . . Mr. Pitt own'd that he was perfectly satisfied with what the King had said to him, & with His Majesty's resolutions as to measures & men; but that my Lord Temple would not come in, & therefore Mr. Pitt could not. That might be a reason for Mr. Pitt, but for the Whig party, it was none. . . .

VII B 5

The SAME to the SAME.

21 Dec. 1766.

. . . I have been told so, & by those, who thought it certainly so, that My Lord Chatham, finding himself embarrassed, (as he most certainly is) with the East India Company's affair, is gone to Pynsent, or Bath; & has left it entirely to the Duke of Grafton, & Chas. Townshend, saying, It was not his affair; & he would have nothing to do with it. I can hardly believe it; but yet it is very strongly asserted. I am told, Lord Chatham's project was, to declare the Conquests made by the East India Company to belong to the King, (& not to the Publick), and then, that his Majesty, out of his great generosity, should give them to the Publick; and the

Parliament in return should pay the debts of the Civil List out of them. . . .¹

VII B 6

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.²

12 Dec. 1764.

. . . The Duke of Cumberland still feels the offensive conduct of Mr. Pitt, which he looks upon to be both ungrateful, & disrespectful to the whole party, who had no view, but to set him at their head. But His Royal Highness was so pleased with your letter, & is always so sensible & so reasonable, that I am persuaded, he will acquiesce in doing nothing to offend Mr. Pitt. . . .

VII B 7

The SAME to the SAME.

8 July 1767.

. . . I cannot but find myself extreamly hurt that no notice has been taken of me; the first sacrifice to my Lord

¹ This letter refers to the administration formed by Pitt after the dismissal of Lord Rockingham in 1766, and composed—in the words of Burke—of “patriots and courtiers, King’s friends and republicans, whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies.” The (third) Duke of Grafton was first Lord of the Treasury, and Charles Townshend Chancellor of the Exchequer.

² This and the letter of the 17 June (VII B 2) refer to the attempts made by the Duke of Cumberland and others to induce Pitt to take office. The attempts failed owing to Pitt’s refusal to serve without Temple.

Chatham's boundless ambition, either by the King, or his Ministers the D. of Grafton, or Mr. Conway¹, 2dly that my Lord Rockingham does not think it necessary in turn, to consult me, or to ask my opinion upon any one step he takes in this affair. It would not have been unworthy of his Lordship if he had told the D. of Grafton, that he must in the first place communicate everything to the D. of Newcastle, neither would it have been too much condescension for his Lordship to have come down hither to know my opinion, before he had had this meeting. His great predecessor my Lord Chatham, who was then in the height of his glory, & thought himself at the head of everything, vouchsafed to come to me at Claremont, to acquaint me with what had passed with the King. . . .

VII C 1

THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

28 Aug. 1766.

. . .² It is amazing how universally the Torrent runs against the late great Commoner. My line of conversation on

¹ Secretary of State.

² With regard to Pitt's acceptance of an Earldom, the Duke of Grafton writes (*Autobiography*, ed. Anson, p. 97): "Being appointed to the Queen's house, I found Lord Northington and Lord Camden already there. Mr. Pitt was in with the King. The two lords appeared to be in most earnest conversation, and much agitated. On perceiving it, I naturally was turning from them, after my bow; but they begged to impart to me the subject of their concern, asking me whether I had any previous knowledge of Mr. Pitt's intention of obtaining an Earldom, and thus placing himself in the House of Lords; whereas our conception of the strength of the Administration had been, till that moment, derived from the great advantage he would have given to it by remaining with the Commons. On this there was but one voice among us, nor indeed throughout the Kingdom."

Political subjects is, *to commend all those with whom I had the honour to be called into Administration*, to represent the D. of Grafton & Genl. Conway as only differing with many of us—on the single subject of their opinion of the late Mr. Pitt—and I venture to abuse L^d Temple as the worst of men, & Mr. G : Greenville as the worst of ministers for this Country's service. . . .

VII C 2

THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

17 Dec. 1767.

For the last ten days, I have expected almost each day to be able to acquaint your Grace with a *New Arrangement*. The D. of Bedford's¹ friends have been in full career of Treaty with the Duke of Grafton &c. The first symptom was their *civilly* taking leave & declaring off from G. Greenville. . . . L. Chatham is at Reading, if not perhaps by this time in town. The idea or intention of *ousting* L^d Shelburne & George Cooke,² it is said has waked the sleeping lion. . . . All *we* in town are in very good humour, & look with great composure—at the wallowings in the mud. . . .

¹ On December 13, 1767, Lord Shelburne writes to Lady Chatham (*Correspondence*, III. p. 297): "The Duke of Grafton's idea was, that I should be Secretary for America; for if the Duke of Bedford's friends and not Lord Rockingham's, should be the party that is taken in, it would be impossible, in his idea or in the Chancellor's, he was sure, to place any of the Bedfords there, on account of the difference of principles."

² Member for Middlesex, and joint Paymaster-General.

VII C 3

THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

12 Sept. 1768.

. . . The immediate cause of my now writing is to beg the favour of your Grace that Mr. Ellerton a gentleman of the East Riding of Yorkshire & Mr. Young¹—the author of the Farmer's Letter & Six Weeks Tour—may have leave to see Welbeck &c. They will not be troublesome because they are both very good sort of men, & if you see them you will think so. . . .

VII C 4

On the 22 Octo. of the same year Lord Rockingham writes :

. . . Pray read the letter signed *Atticus* in the Public Advertiser. . . .

The letter here alluded to (published on October 19) was assigned by Woodfall to Junius and reprinted with his other

¹ Arthur Young (1741–1820), the agriculturist. The books referred to are : “The Farmer's Letters to the People of England” (1767), and “A Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales” (1768). Young refers to this visit in his *Autobiography* (ed. Betham-Edwards, pp. 50 and 51): “I spent some time with my friend, Mr. Ellerton, of Risby, in the East Riding: he accompanied me to York races and on a visit of several days to the Marquis of Rockingham, who had previously to the journey invited me to see him, and pointed out a number of persons proper for me to visit. . . . From Wentworth I went to the Duke of Portland's and others . . . everywhere being received in a very flattering manner.”

letters (1814; iii. 165–177). Considering how closely Junius was associated in policy and opinion with the Rockingham Whigs, it is surprising that this should be the only allusion to him in the course of the correspondence.

VII C 5

THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.
17 Sept. 1767.

. . . In my judgment the conduct which the publick have approved, has turned on *Two material points*, in which the Publick felt themselves deeply interested. The one was—our steady and unalterable determination of ever resisting & attempting to restrain the Power & influence of L.^d Bute. The other arose from Mr. Greenville's conduct as a minister, whose measures & opinions we opposed in opposition, & when we were in Administration,¹ corrected his measures, relieved the Country from his errors & in truth acted upon a system diametrically opposite to his opinions. . . .

VII D 1

The SAME to the SAME.

5 Dec. 1769.

. . . I hear frequently from London. At present all my correspondents' information join in an account of L.^d Chatham's declarations, that *nothing* can save this country, but govern-

¹ It was under Lord Rockingham's administration that the repeal of Greenville's Stamp Act had been carried in 1766.

ment being in the hands of the old Whig families & does us the honour to name all our names & sometimes for a short description L^d Rockingham's *spotless* friends. . . .

VII D 2

Draft of two motions dealing with the resolution of the House of Commons (17 Feb. 1769), that John Wilkes, who had been returned for Middlesex by an immense majority, 'was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present Parliament.'

1.

That, the Capacity to be chosen a Representative of the Commons in Parliament, being, under known Restrictions & Limitations of Law, an original, inherent Right of the Subject, may be cognizable in a Court of Law, and is a matter, wherein the jurisdiction of the House of Commons (tho' unappealable as to the Seat of their Member) is not final or conclusive.

2.

That, the inflicting on the Subject, a new incapacity, unknown to the Law of the Land by Declaration or Resolution of the House of Commons, is a Violation of the constitutional Right of the Lords, and of the King; an Assumption, *pro tanto*, of the Power of the whole Legislature; and restrictive of the Right of the Electors to their legal and free choice of a Representative.

The first motion was made and negatived in the House of Lords on the 12 Feb. 1770. The second appears never to have been made; but the substance is embodied under the sixth head of the Lords' Protest of the 2 Feb. 1770.

VII D 3

Dissent on the Proceedings of this Day [10 Decem. 1770].

This is the text, probably drawn up by Burke, though the handwriting is not his, of the Protest No. ccclii. in Thorold Rogers's edition. The editor comments as follows (II. p. 111):

"The Duke of Manchester rose to make a motion 'to desire his Majesty would be pleased to send a proper force to Gibraltar and the islands of Minorca and Jamaica, for their proper and sufficient defence at this time.' In the course of his speech he commented on the defencelessness of Gibraltar, when he was interrupted by Earl Gower, who moved that the standing order (No. 112) be read, excluding strangers, on the plea that emissaries of Spain might be present. He also commented on the fact that persons were taking notes. The Duke of Richmond defended the Duke of Manchester, and charged Earl Gower with irregularity. Instantly a violent clamour arose which drowned all speech. Lord Chatham tried to speak, but could not be heard. On this, after a fruitless remonstrance, Lord Chatham left the House, and eighteen other Lords followed his example. After they were gone, the House became even more riotous, and expelled certain members of the Commons who were bringing up a Bill."

VII D 4

THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

31 Jan. 1775.

I have just rec^d a note¹ from L^d Chatham. His Lord^{sh} proposes to come to the House of Lords to-morrow in order

¹ This letter does not seem to have been preserved; but on the same date Chatham wrote to Lord Shelburne (*Correspondence*, IV. p. 387): "Not a moment can be lost, for whoever has any thing to offer to the public, for

as he says to propose *something for preventing a Civil War*. He doth not give the least hint of what his plan is. His letter is in *words* civil, but it is very strange conduct, & not such as ought to be. . . .

VII D 5

THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

11 Dec. 1770.

It was past 1 o'clock this morning before we finished the enclosed sketch of a protest.¹ I think we have weighed & considered each part & upon the whole I think it is very properly drawn. I wish your Grace would consider it & that you would if possible see the D. of Devonshire & apprise his Grace of what we intend, both as to the protest, & the farther proceeding to-day on the D. of Manchester's motion. . . .

VII D 6

The SAME to the SAME.

4 Mar. 1777.

. . . L. North continues ill, tho' *better*; but probably it may be some time before he can possibly come to the House of

preventing a civil war, before it is inevitably fixed. I mean therefore to obey the necessity, and propose to-morrow in the House, gout permitting, my thoughts on this weighty business." On Feb. 1 Chatham, who had previously consulted Franklin, presented to the House of Lords his Plan for settling the Troubles in America. The bill was rejected by sixty-one against thirty-two.

¹ VII D 3.

Commons, so that *there* may be a suspense of publick business for a little while. Alarms begin to operate a *little*. The fond hopes of *instantaneously* subduing America *are very much subsided*. The Conduct of France *begins* to be deemed liable to suspicion. . . .

VII D 7

THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

8 Nov. 1777. ¹

. . . I confess I agree too much with my friend the Duke of Richmond, in thinking that *all is over*¹ *for this country*. I nevertheless do feel most strongly that there is a duty, which *I* perhaps most particularly owe, to the *Persons* of those who not only encouraged & incited me, but also whose Principles deserve a better fate, than to be buried in the Ruins of their Country. I confess I feel a solicitude even for myself—I would wish to have it to say, & I would wish to have it remember'd & recorded, that to the last moment *we* struggled in Behalf of this poor infatuated Country. I am clear, that nothing can possibly effectually avail, *unless this country* itself recollects & reassumes its genuine principles. . . .

¹ General Burgoyne had surrendered at Saratoga on October 17 of this year.

VII D 8

THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

7 June 1778.

I had no thought of attending the Funeral¹ of L^d Chatham, as I had understood that it was to be *at night*. Upon calling yesterday upon L^d Shelburne I found the Funeral was to be rather early on Tuesday morning, & I now see the arrangement &c in the Gazette. My real principal or indeed only objection to going, was on the idea of its being *at night*. I find some of our friends think that I *should* go, so that I now intend to come to London to-morrow night in order to attend on Tuesday. . . .

VIII A 1

EARL HOWE *to the* SAME.

GRAFTON STREET

Dec^r 21 : 1774.

MY LORD

I am but this moment honored with your Grace's commands of yesterday. I cannot suppose the concurrence of so inconsiderable a person as myself, can be an object of moment towards the success of L^d Edward,² in his views of becoming

¹ Chatham died on May 11, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on June 9, 1778.

² Probably Lord Edward Charles Cavendish Bentinck (1744-1819), brother of the Duke of Portland. He was returned for Nottingham on the 11 Jan. 1775.



the least near them before they made off, gave them to[o] large a distance in the beginning to form the least hopes of getting up to them before the night came on. . . .

VIII A 3

WILLIAM ADAM¹ *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

HASTINGS. 23rd Sep^r. 1783.

I take the liberty of addressing your Grace to sollicite your favour in support of Mr. John Clerk² of Eldin being appointed Secretary to the Board of Trustees for managing the forfeited estates in Scotland. . . . Mr. Clerk is author of a work upon Naval Tactics, which he has not published because it might be beneficial to our enemies, but those who are judges of the subject allow that his work entitles him to the public consideration. . . .

¹ William Adam (1751–1839), a politician who is now chiefly remembered for his duel with Fox in 1779.

² John Clerk of Eldin (1728–1812) published the first part of his Essay in 1790 and the second and third parts in 1797. His name is introduced here solely on account of his strange delusion, which, it is needless to say, was systematically fostered by his Scotch friends, that Rodney owed his successes in the West Indies to what he had learnt of his own business from Clerk, a civilian who had never been to sea. Just as Velasquez reminded Wilkie of Raeburn, so Rodney's proceedings recalled Clerk of Eldin to the Scotch observer.

VIII A 4

LORD CLIVE *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.BATH, 13th Dec 1767.

MY LORD DUKE,

Being informed by Mr. Walsh, that your Grace has been so obliging as to cede to me the purchase of the Maeslough Estate, I take the earliest opportunity my indifferent state of health affords, to acknowledge my sense of that Favor, and to assure your Grace, that I have the honor to be with the greatest esteem

My Lord Duke

Your Grace's

most obed^t and most

humble servant

CLIVE¹

VIII A 5

LORD CORNWALLIS *to the* SAME.GRANTHAM, Nov: 18th 1764.

MY DEAR LORD

You will be surprized to find a letter from me dated from hence, but I must remind your Grace that I am a Foxhunter. Dr. Simpson a civilian nephew to the late S^r Edrd Simpson who is I am afraid very poor, & who to my knowledge refused

¹ Robert, Lord Clive (1725-1774), Governor of Bengal.

great offers from Sandwich has desired me to beg your Grace's application to the Archbishop of York to make him Judge of the Prerogative Court of York in case of a vacancy, which he informs me is likely to happen; I am so well acquainted with your sentiments that I know you want no inducement to reward an honest man if it is in your power; S^r W^m Boothby is here with his Master, he tells me he left your Grace very well & busy at Welbeck, I hope to have the pleasure of paying my respects to you there some time before Christmas. I saw George Byng in town he gave me a good account of Wigan.

I am Your Grace's
most obedient
& faithfull servant

CORNWALLIS¹

VIII A 6

THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

SCARBRO' November 6th 1767.

MY DEAR LORD

As the Devonshire Family have declared a strict neutrality but at the same time have given leave to both Candidates and their Friends to apply to their Friends, and even their Tenants for their second Votes, I now take the liberty to beg your

¹ Charles, first Marquess and second Earl Cornwallis (1738-1805), twice Governor-General of India, and Viceroy of Ireland. His surrender to Washington at Yorktown (1781) closed the war of American Independence.

Grace's interest for S' Harpur,¹ which I shall ever esteem as a particular Favor granted to

My dear Lord

Your Grace's

most obedient

Humble servant

GRANBY.²

VIII A 7

On Aug. 16, 1766, the D. OF NEWCASTLE writes:

. . . Great events which must have consequences came out on Wednesday. Lord Granby kissed the King's hand for Captain General. I do not suppose that that will greatly please the Army; as it will, by that means, be absolutely put into Mr. Pitt's power as everything else is. Our friend, my Lord Albemarle³ will be particularly hurt by it; and I don't fancy that Conway⁴ will like it; tho' he may say nothing upon it; for it cuts him out of what, I am persuaded was his first object. . . .

¹ Candidate for Derbyshire. On November 26 the Duke of Portland replies to Lord Granby, regretting "that he cannot support Sir Henry Harpur; but he will be neutral: and Sir Henry may canvass his tenants" (Rutland MSS., II. p. 294).

² John (Manners), Marquess of Granby (1721-1770). In 1766 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief by Chatham in the room of Lord Ligonier who was compelled to retire. It is to this that the Duke of Newcastle, who had strong reasons of his own for objecting to Chatham, alludes. Lord Chesterfield in the same strain protested against putting "such a boy as Granby over the head of old Ligonier."

³ George (Keppel), third Earl of Albemarle (1724-1772).

⁴ Henry Seymour Conway (1721-1795), Lieutenant-General of Ordnance; Governor of the Isle of Jersey and (1793) Field-Marshal.

VIII B 1

GEORGE III. *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

21 Feb. 1795.

. . . The Cabinet cannot state any opinion till the information required by the Duke of Portland's dispatches of the 16th be transmitted, and . . . the Lord Lieutenant¹ must use his utmost exertions to prevent any further proceedings respecting the Bill moved by Mr. Grattan,² till Ministry can have signified its Sentiments on the information now again called for. This direction meets with my Approbation. I cannot at the same time conceal from the D. of Portland my surprize, that on so very serious and unprecedented a proposal as the change proposed in Ireland no one of the letters I now return contain one single line of information, but at the same time I must express my thorough approbation at the clearness and fairness of the D. of Portland's answers, which can be only exceeded by the very feeling and upright declaration he made yesterday to me. . . .

¹ William Wentworth, second Earl Fitzwilliam (1748-1833), had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in December 1794. He was recalled in March of the following year.

² On February 12 Grattan obtained leave to bring in a bill for the relief of the Catholics in Ireland "enumerating all the exceptions to complete equality and abolishing them all."

Windsor July 24.th 1794.

Mr. Dundas yesterday acquainted Me, that the Duke of Portland if I had not proposed his acceptance of the Lord Lieutenantcy and Custos Rotulorum of Middlesex, would have wished to decline it in favour of the Marquis of Fitchfield; this struck me so much as a highly advantageous method of bringing a Young Man of Quality into a line the most useful to himself as well as the Public if he zealously takes his attention to the Police of the County and Capital, that I authorised Mr. Dundas to desire the Duke of Portland to stop the Commission of Lord Lieutenant and have another made out in favour of the Marquis of Fitchfield; but least any delicacy should have prevented the Duke from taking any step till he heard personally from me; I take this method of expressing my thorough approbation of the idea of the Marquis of Fitchfield being appointed Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Middlesex, and directing that the Instruments for that purpose should be prepared.

George G.

VIII B 4

GEORGE III. *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.WINDSOR, *July 24th 1794.*

Mr. Dundas¹ yesterday acquainted me, that the Duke of Portland if I had not proposed his acceptance of the Lord Lieutenancy and Custos Rotulorum of Middlesex, would have wished to decline it in favour of the Marquess of Titchfield; this struck me so much as a highly advantageous method of bringing a Young Man of Quality into a line the most useful to himself as well as the Public, if he zealously turns his attention to the Police of the County and Capital, that I authorized Mr. Dundas to desire the Duke of Portland to stop the Commission of Lord Lieutenant and have another made out in favour of the Marquess of Titchfield; but least any delicacy should have prevented the Duke from taking any step till he heard personally from me; I take this method of expressing my thorough approbation of the idea of the Marquess of Titchfield's being appointed Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Middlesex, and directing that the Instruments for that purpose should be prepared.

GEORGE R.

¹ Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville (1742–1811), was at this time Secretary of State for War. In 1806 he was impeached by the Samuel Whitbread who appears in the next letter of high crimes and misdemeanours alleged to have been committed during his control of the Admiralty; but he was acquitted on all charges.

Weymouth Sept. 1. 1795.

The Duke of Portland's Account of the State of the War is so favorable that it gives one infinite satisfaction; and certainly is a reason that the return should not be continued to be made out weekly for my inspection.

I am happy to find the opinion of Sir Joseph Banks as to the avoiding at least till the season is further advanced the buying Corn by persons employed by Government, coincides so entirely with my own ideas on that subject.

I cannot help at the same time assuring the Duke of Portland that I sign with great pleasure the Licence she has sent to me, as I trust the Alliance of this Son will not only be advantageous to his family but at the same time from the good Character of the Lady prove a source of real comfort to the Duke and every branch of his Family.

George

VIII C 6

GEORGE III. *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.WINDSOR Jan^r 6th. 1795.

m/15 pt. 11 . a.m.

The Duke of Portland's communication of the letters he has received from Sir Gilbert Elliott¹ and General Paoli² are very agreeable to me, as the first shews the Vice Roys thoughts on Pietri and the latter the General's manner of receiving the distinctions proposed for him. The letter from Bern shows the prudence of Mr. Wickham³ who certainly gains much more information by being supposed to be imbued with the sentiments of the Constitutionals than if he warmly avowed the ideas of the gentleman who thinks the state of Franche Comté so favorable. I quite agree with the Duke of Portland that the picture drawn of that province and of the possibility of getting the Prince de Condé⁴ and his small army to penetrate there seems very worthy of enquiry, as from the present state of Holland it seems highly difficult if we can get that Corps from Austria how we can transport them to France but through Franche Comté.

G. R.

¹ Sir Gilbert Elliot, afterwards first Earl of Minto (1751-1814), had been appointed Viceroy of Corsica in October 1794.

² Pasquale de Paoli (1726-1807), the Corsican patriot.

³ William Wickham (1761-1840) was sent to Switzerland in 1794 on a confidential mission. In the following year he was appointed minister to Switzerland. He subsequently became private secretary to the Duke of Portland.

⁴ Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1736-1818), General-in-Chief of the emigration.

VIII D 1

GEORGE III. *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

31 Aug. 1795.

. . . I quite concur with the Duke of Portland that it is absolutely necessary that the conduct of Paoli and his adherents should meet with that rigour from Government which alone can give a due tone to Authority when far removed from the seat of the supreme Government, at the same time I am sorry to see in all Sir G. Elliot's letters a degree of jealousy that I had hoped had not been part of his character. . . .

VIII D 2

The SAME *to the* SAME.

23 Aug. 1794.

. . . The granting General Paoli a pension of equal value to that he received here I also approve of as also his having a gold chain with my Picture set in Diamonds for him to wear on all public occasions. I desire the D. of Portland will order Duval the Jeweller to prepare the setting and that Collins¹ may have orders to paint the picture and that the General may have notice of both these marks of favour. I also direct that the proper steps may be taken as to the Corsican Flag and the Great Seal for that Island. . . .

¹ Richard Collins (1755-1831), the miniature painter. He was appointed in 1787 principal portrait-painter in enamel to George III.

VIII D 3

PAOLI *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

MILORD DUCA

Ho l'onore di notificarle che in obbedienza agl'ordini di sua Maesta sono arrivato a Londra da poche ore soltanto. Quanto vostra Eccellenza vorrà accordarmi l'onore di ricevermi mi farò un dovere di rassegnarle il mio rispetto e frattanto mi protesto con tutto l'ossequio. Dell eccellenza vostra

Dev^{mo} obl^{mo} Serv^{to}

PASQUALE DE PAOLI.

Giovedì sera 24 Dbrre 1795

ORCHARD STREET
no. 2

When Corsica was ceded to England in 1794 Paoli had expected to be made Viceroy but he found himself set aside in favour of Sir Gilbert Elliot. It was probably in consequence of the jealousy between them that Paoli was recalled to England by a letter from the King.

VIII D 4

GEORGE III. *to the* SAME.

WINDSOR, Oct. 25th. 1794.
m/20. pt. 8. a.m.

I have read with much Attention the curious confession which Watt¹ made previous to incurring the Sentence of the

¹ "October 19th Robert Watt convicted of high treason, was executed at the west end of the Luckenbooths, at Edinburgh, pursuant to his sentence." (*Annual Register*, 1794, p. 34.) "The particulars of the charge were, that he

Law, it shews he was a fanatick, and that his Pride was the true spring on which the whole of his conduct turned.

G. R.

VIII D 5

GEORGE III. *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

Sept. 30th 1794.

. . . We are all with the utmost caution open to events of the most fatal kind if men will at any hazard prosecute their plans. Therefore any one would be ever miserable if not trusting in his own honest endeavours to act uprightly, and trusting in the protection of Providence, he did not banish the thought that men will be found to harbour such wicked intentions.

In the following year the King was shot at as he went to open Parliament.

VIII D 6

The SAME to the SAME.

Dec. 27 . 1795.

. . . As the Duke of Portland seems to be desirous to know how far I have succeeded in removing the complaint that has for some time been inconvenient to me; I can with truth and

belonged to certain Committees of the Friends of the People in Scotland, . . . whose avowed aim was to usurp the powers of government, to compel the King and Parliament by force to make laws, altering the mode and duration of Parliament, and thereby to subvert the constitution." (*Ibid.* p. 28.)

pleasure assure him that I have had respite enough to pursue the remedies that now have entirely removed the evil; that yesterday I rode out for the first time and found myself much the better for the Air, and shall certainly be at St. James' on Wednesday.

IX A 1

MRS. CREWE¹ to the DUKE OF PORTLAND.

CR. HALL, 28 Nov. [1795].

I am quite alone here, for God's sake desire some Friend to send me some comfort after reading such a debate as that of Monday. I have sent some handbills of Chester to Geo. Canning which a cousin of Mr. Crewe's sent here to day. Ch. F. seems determined we sh^d have a C. W.² if so, the Gentry of *County & City* are stout I promise you. Every one is active to save the K^{ing's} property but who can fight against *snarcs* layd on purpose to destroy us all! I hope our Friend Mr. W. has not fallen into any. The *wisest* are not equal to such *banditty* wars!

God bless you. Desire some one to write, & oh how I admire Mr. Pitt's *manly* speech! Yours ever.

¹ Frances Anne, daughter of Fulke Greville. She married in 1776 John Crewe of Crewe Hall, who, in 1806, was raised to the peerage as Baron Crewe through the influence of Fox, "who preferred Mrs. Crewe to all women living." The letter probably refers to the debate of November 25 on the bill "for the safety and preservation of his Majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practises and attempts." Mr. W. is Mr. Wyndham who two days before, in reply to Mr. Fox, had gone so far as to assert that "ministers were determined to exert a vigour beyond the law."

² Civil war.

IX A 2

GEORGIANA, DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE,¹ *to the*
DUKE OF PORTLAND.

. . . The Marquis de Lovaret is a friend of the Duke's and of mine, and to whom we are under obligations as he received us in a very handsome manner when we were obliged to leave Brussels. He was then Com^t of Lisle. What he wishes and what we wish is that the Princes should know it is the wish *here* to have him employed. . . .

IX A 3

THE DUCHESS OF KINGSTON *to the* SAME.

MY LD

I have the honor of acquainting your Grace that after inexpressible persecutions I am at Calais arm'd with innocence and preparing to return to England immediately as your Grace has honor'd me with many professions of friendship I should be difficient to myself if I did not desire your Grace to do me the honor to be one of my bail with his Grace of Newcastle, it is a matter of form but the relationship² that your Grace held in Blood to my late Dear Husband the forever

¹ First wife of the fifth Duke of Devonshire, commonly called "the beautiful Duchess."

² The Duke's grandfather, the first Duke of Kingston, had married (secondly) Isabella, fifth daughter of the first Earl of Portland; but the reference is probably to the descent of the Pierreponts from Sir William Cavendish.

lamented Duke of Kingston will make it a double satisfaction to Her who has the honor to assure your Grace of the great respect with which she is your Grace's most obedient & very humble servt

E. KINGSTON.¹

CALAIS, the 14th of May 1775.

IX A 4

PRINCESS OF WALES² *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

The Princess hopes that his Grace has taken into Consideration the papers concerning the Princess's pecuniary Affairs which she laid before the Duke lately; & has no doubt but that his Grace will feel the great Necessity that at least the Debts of the Princess should be cleared, if even the Duke of Portland should think that an Addition to the Princess's annual Income was not at present a proper moment of bringing forward. . . .

21 July 1807.

¹ Elizabeth (Chudleigh), Countess of Bristol (1720–1788), had been privately married in 1744 to Augustus John Hervey, who in 1775 succeeded his brother as sixth Earl of Bristol. She afterwards became the mistress of the Duke of Kingston, who was willing to marry her; but it was necessary first to get rid of the inconvenient Hervey, who on his side, was equally anxious for a divorce. Accordingly, to avoid scandal, she adopted the plea that no marriage had taken place, and proceeded against Hervey for jactitation of marriage in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of London, by the sentence of which Court she was declared (Feb. 11, 1769): "free from all matrimonial contracts or espousals with the said Mr. Hervey." On March 8 following she was married to the Duke of Kingston. After the death of the Duke in 1773 she was tried for bigamy by her peers and found guilty. She then quitted the country and, after several adventures, in different parts of Europe, she died in Paris in 1788.

² Caroline Amelia Elizabeth of Brunswick, afterwards better known as Queen Caroline.

IX A 5

LORD THURLOW *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

MY LORD,

I most earnestly beg your Grace's pardon for having suffered your Grace's letter to slip out of my memory so long. I will certainly make it my object to make some suitable provision for M^r Hudson as soon as I find an opportunity and shall have great pleasure in an occasion of testifying the respect with which I have the honour to be

Your Grace's

most faithful and obedient servant

THURLOW.¹

[1780]

IX A 6

LORD MANSFIELD² *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.WESTM^r HALL 24 June 1776.

MY DEAR LORD

I shall be very happy if I have been serviceable to y^r Grace. Say a little to y^r mother, she will be pleased with it,

¹ Edward, Lord Thurlow (1731–1806), Lord Chancellor. The Mr Hudson here alluded to acted for some years as Secretary and Political Agent to the Duke of Portland.

² William (Murray), first Earl of Mansfield (1705–1793), Lord Chief Justice. "For the benefit of the heir of the ducal house of Portland, he wrote two very long letters to that young nobleman 'On the Study of Ancient and Modern History,' which would constitute an admirable syllabus for a course of lectures." Campbell's "Lives of the Chief Justices of England," II. p. 334.

& I am sure she will from noble motives ease you of any difficulty & immediately turn the discourse. I am the only person who does business to-day, but to morrow I will see the Attorney General here, & make him master of the subject, & all that is expected from him. While I write I am at the same time hearing a cause so must end, because they have just called a Witness.

IX B 1

EDMUND BURKE *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

I have acquired a strange kind of Right to be troublesome to your Grace. But the use I make of it is to conjure you that if any way can be found to bring my friend & Kinsman William¹ into Parl^t your Grace will give your best assistance to it. He has been eminently useful & faithful to the Cause, a constant friend to good men; & perfectly an enemy to their adversaries. Depend upon it, if he is preserved, he will pay it in real service. I have no other object more at heart. I can be neither easy nor happy with^t it. I fight this Battle; I will fight any in England, for the same prospect. I repeat it, the service he will do is beyond, what I am sure is commonly imagined. I do not wish to speak rashly, I know not why I

¹ Burke always alluded to William Burke as his kinsman, though in what exact degree they were related has never been made clear. William Burke gambled heavily on the Stock Exchange, and there are strong reasons for supposing that the Orator profited by his kinsman's operations. In 1774 he contested Haslemere in Surrey, and, being defeated, petitioned. But, "on the 9th of May 1775, the Chairman of the Committee appointed to try this contested election, reported to the House, that the sitting members were duly elected."

repeat this to your Grace, who I know have a paternal care of the whole party.

1774.

IX B 2

EDMUND BURKE *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

I never heard a piece of News, which gives me more sincere, unmixed, perfect pleasure, in my life, than that w^{ch} the Kindness of our friends, conveyed to me very early in an account of the glorious Victory at Carlisle.¹ It is just what it ought to be, the Triumph of Truth, Equity, & Reason, over obstinacy, malice, & arbitrary power. Oh may it be the prelude to many more such Triumphs in every Cause to w^{ch} you wish well. . . . These modern Whiggs² are strange people, upon my conscience! If their ancestors were such we should have had no Liberty, no Revolution, no Duke of Portland. . . .

16 Aug. 1776.

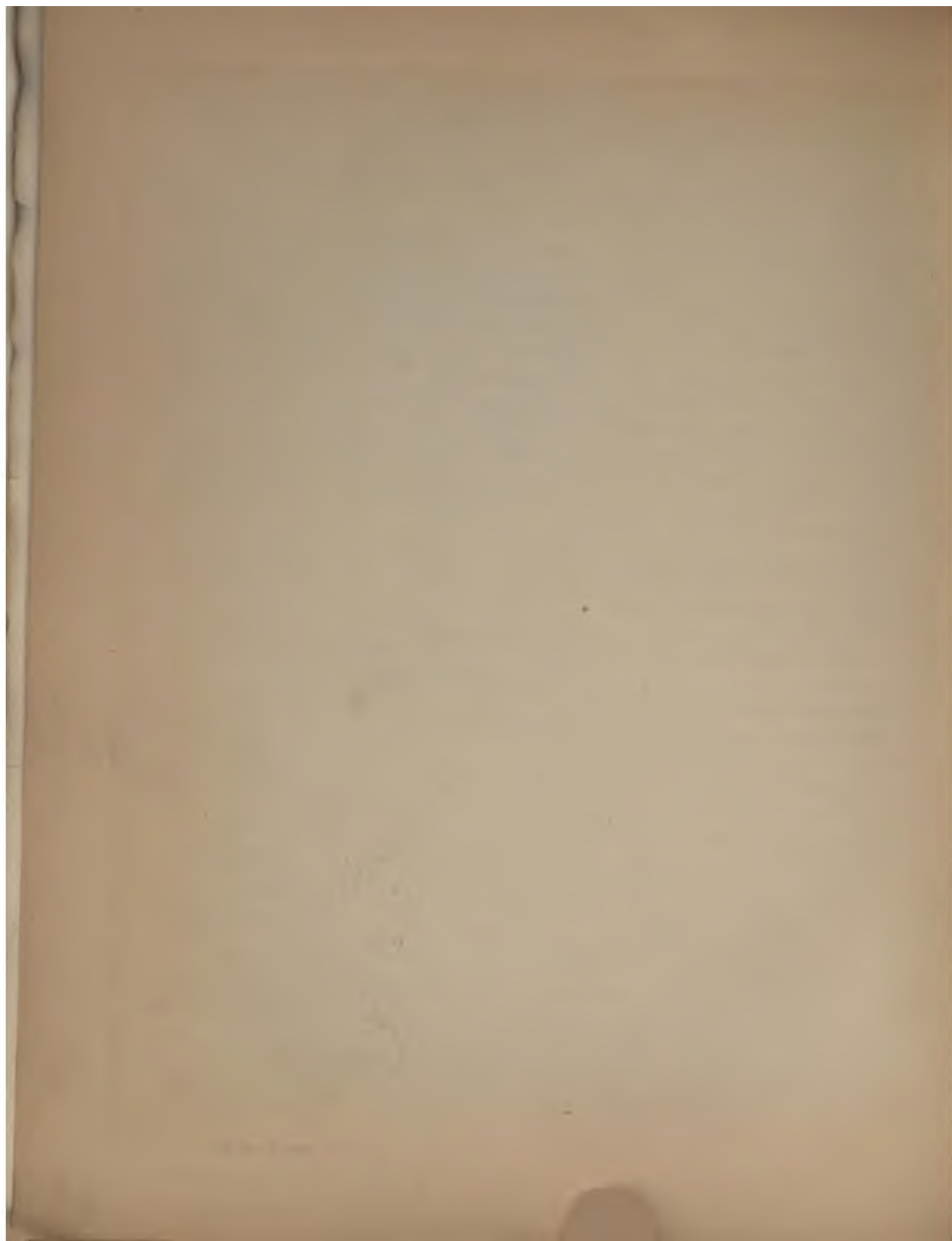
IX B 3

The SAME *to the* SAME.

. . . The session promises to open very oddly. An uncertainty about Lord Cornwallis, a bad account of him, or merely an account of his Escape, must make an indifferent figure; though as to the last, we have begun, & possibly with reason, to think

¹ This probably refers to the decision of the Court of Exchequer against the grant to Sir James Lowther.

² Sir James Lowther himself acted with the Whigs during the administration of Lord North (1770–82).



yours, I might truly say, that I am in some want of comfort myself. I know it is impossible just now to divert your thoughts from this most affecting subject; & I am not sure that some conversation on it with a friend who sincerely mixes his tears with yours, may not be rather lenient than troublesome. I think I am as able as any one to estimate the full value of your loss. It has long been my opinion, an opinion which I had pleasure & pride in communicating to every one, that if ever any one man had Virtues to redeem a bad age, it was Lord Richard Cavendish;¹ & those joined with such Talents, & so proportioned to his Virtues, & so fitted to give them all their effect, that I cannot help thinking that his removal from us, at this time, & among so many publick calamities, is to be reckoned among the heaviest of the punishments, with which it is meant to chastise this Nation. Not to grieve for such a loss would not be natural; perhaps not even reasonable; & I hope it is one of the weaknesses by which we may become the better—for when time gives our sorrow to mellow into something more mature than grief, we shall still think as much of our dear friend as ever we did; but in a manner more useful to us; & more worthy of him; & surely more pleasing to him. I shall never allow it to be weakness or superstition to believe, that our friends continue to know us, & to interest themselves about those whom they loved at this bad side of the grave. The highest honour we can pay to his Memory is to grow as like him as we can; & to cherish his Virtues by an imitation of them. Indeed the recollection of him is not a contemplation wholly of bitterness, or altogether unprofitable. We can never think of what we have lost, without being sure that we occupy our minds on some of the best objects that can possibly engage them. My dear Lord, my

¹ Second son of William, fourth Duke of Devonshire, and brother of the Duchess of Portland.

dear friend, may God almighty preserve you & the person on whom this blow I am afraid will fall with its full weight; & may he grant to you both the necessary measure of Fortitude, in the only thing on Earth in which it is possible that hearts like yours should want it. I am ever, with the most sincere affection, gratitude & sympathy,

My dear Lord

Your Grace's ever faithful

& obliged friend & humble serv^{mt}

EDM. BURKE.

CHARLES STREET, Oct. 1781.

IX B 5

EDMUND BURKE *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

MY DEAR LORD,

The paper which I take the liberty of sending to your Grace was for the greater part written during the last session. A few days after the prorogation some few observations were added. I was however resolved to let it lie by me for a considerable time, that, on viewing the matter at a proper distance, & when the sharpness of recent impressions had been worn off, I might be the better able to form a just estimate of the value of my first opinions.

I have just read it over very coolly & deliberately. My latest judgment owns my first sentiments & reasonings, in their full force, with regard both to persons & things.

During a period of four years, the state of the world, except for some few and short intervals, has filled me with a good deal of serious inquietude. I considered a general war

against Jacobins & Jacobinism, as the only possible chance of saving Europe (& England as included in Europe) from a truly frightful revolution. For this I have been censured as receiving, thro' weakness, or of spreading, thro' fraud and artifice, a false alarm. Whatever others may think of the matter, that alarm in my mind is by no means quieted. The state of affairs *abroad* is not so much mended, as to make me, for one, full of confidence. At *home*, I see no abatement whatsoever in the zeal of the Partisans of Jacobinism towards their cause, nor any cessation in their efforts to do mischief. What is doing by Lord Lauderdale on the first scene of Lord George Gordon's action, & in his spirit, is not calculated to remove my apprehensions. They pursue their first object with as much eagerness as ever, but with more dexterity. Under the plausible name of peace by which they delude or are deluded, they would deliver us unarmed & defenceless to the confederation of Jacobins, whose center is indeed in France, but whose rays proceed in every direction throughout the world. I understand that Mr. Coke¹ of Norfolk has been lately very busy in spreading a disaffection to this war (which we carry on for our being) in the County in which his property gives him so great an influence. It is truly alarming to see so large a part of the Aristocratick interest engaged in the cause of the new species of democracy, which is openly attacking or secretly undermining the system of property, by which mankind has hitherto been governed. But we are not to delude ourselves. No man, who is connected with a party, which professes publickly to admire, or may be justly suspected of secretly abetting, this French revolution, who must not be drawn into its vortex & become the instrument of its designs. What I have written is in the manner of apology. I have given it that form, as being the

¹ Thomas William Coke, the agriculturist (1752-1842), who was afterwards (1837) created Earl of Leicester of Holkham.

EDMUND BURKE

most respectful : but I do not stand in need of any apology for my principles, my Sentiments, or my Conduct. I wish the paper I lay before your Grace to be considered as my most deliberate, solemn, & even Testamentary protest, against the proceedings & doctrines which have hitherto produced so much mischief in the world, & which will infallibly produce more, & possibly greater. It is my protest against the delusion, by which some have been taught to look upon this Jacobin contest at home as an ordinary party squabble about place or patronage ; & to regard this Jacobin war abroad as a common War about Trade, or Territorial Boundaries, or about a political balance of power among Rival or jealous states. Above all, it is my protest against that mistake or perversion of sentiment, by which they who agree with us in our principles, may, on collateral considerations, be regarded as enemies, & those, who, in this perilous Crisis of all human affairs, differ from us fundamentally & practically, as our best friends ; thus, persons of great importance may be made to turn the whole of their influence to the destruction of their principles.

I now make it my humble request to your Grace, that you will not give any sort of answer to the Paper I send, or to this letter, except barely to let me know that you have received them. I even wish that at present you may not read the paper which I transmit. Lock it up in the drawer of your Library table ; & when a day of compulsory Reflexion comes, then be pleased to turn to it. Then remember that your Grace had a true friend, who had, comparatively with men of your description, a very small interest in opposing the modern system of morality & policy ; but who under every discouragement was faithful to public duty & to private friendship. I shall then probably be dead. I am sure I do not wish to live to see such things. But whilst I do live, I shall pursue the same course, altho' my merits should be taken for

unpardonable faults, & as such avenged not only on myself but on my Posterity.

Adieu ! my dear Lord ! & do me the justice to believe me ever with most sincere respect, veneration, & affectionate attachment

Your Grace's
most faithful friend,
& most obed^t humble serv^{nt}

EDM. BURKE

BECONSFIELD, *Sept.* 29 . 1793.

With this letter were sent Burke's "Observations on the Conduct of the Minority, particularly in the last Session of Parliament." Both the letter and the observations are published in Burke's *Works* (1826), vol. vii. p. 219. It seems that originally they were abstracted and published without Burke's knowledge by a fraudulent amanuensis. The Duke, in spite of Burke's request that he should give no sort of answer to the Paper, replied on October 10 (Burke's *Correspondence*, IV. p. 161). Among other things he writes: "It is no disgrace to me to admit that my imagination, my feelings, my judgment, my conclusions, do not, and cannot keep pace with yours."

IX B 6

EDMUND BURKE *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

. . . I am sure it is hardly necessary to mention to a person so considerate as your Grace, the horrible inconvenience & indecency of crowding together without regard to age, to infirmity, to the decorum, & to the humiliating necessities of nature, such a multitude of people of reputable condition, without infirmary, without a place to eat in, without a place to pray in, young & old, sick & healthy, for their meals, their

physick, & their discharge—all in sight of each other without a power of a moment's retreat. . . .

*Sept. 15, 1795.*¹

IX C 1

WILLIAM PITT *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

(*no date.*)

It has occurred to me that if (as seems clear) we must relinquish Operations on a great scale on the Coast, there would be infinite advantage in prevailing on Lord Moira to go out to St. Domingo.² By this means, the change of plan would be concealed till the moment of executing it and the Enemy kept in uneasiness at home might be prevented from detaching to the Islands. . . . The only difficulty that I see arises

¹ Burke took a warm interest in the state of the French royalist emigrants in England. This letter refers to the settlement at Penn. In the following year he drew up a scheme for "the education of some of the many unhappy children of the emigrant nobility of France," which was forwarded to Mr. Pitt by the Marquess of Buckingham. "The school was established upon the plan suggested by Mr. Burke; and opened in the month of April, of this year (1796). He paid the greatest attention to it during the remainder of his life; visiting it daily when his health permitted." (*Correspondence*, IV. p. 331 *note*.) The first trustees were Lord Grenville, the Marquess of Buckingham, and the Duke of Portland. With this business of the emigrants the long correspondence between Burke and the Duke of Portland seems to have closed; for in the following year Burke writes to Mrs. Crewe (27 Decem.):—"Retired as I am from the world, and not willing to intrude myself on any one, therefore I never see his Grace, nor have any correspondence with him."

² Francis Rawdon-Hastings, second Earl of Moira, and Marquess of Hastings (1754-1826), Governor-General of Bengal. This scheme was never carried out; and by the treaty concluded at Basle on July 22, 1795, the Spanish part of S. Domingo was ceded to France.

from Williamson's¹ situation. I own however that for so great an object, I think there ought to be no ceremony in bringing him away, with the Intention of making it up to him either by Command in the East Indies (where there will be an opening) or by any other arrangement. . . .

IX C 2

WILLIAM PITT *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

Private.

DOWNING STREET,
Aug. 22nd 1795.

MY DEAR LORD,

It has occurred to some of us that it would be a handsome and liberal measure, not to let Lord Moira quit his Command without some mark of the King's favor, as a Compensation for the Time, Labour, & Expense which he has devoted to a service, in the Completion of which he has been disappointed by events, but by no faults of his own. On this ground, and taking care to set aside all Consideration of his Political Conduct, It might be thought right to offer him the Earldom of Huntingdon; and I should be inclined to write to the King to suggest the Idea, but I wished first to know your Grace's Sentiments upon [it].

Yours most sincerely

W. PITT.

This letter refers to the failure of the Royalist descent under de Puisaye and d'Hervilly on the coast of Brittany. If the attempt had succeeded Lord Moira could have been despatched to reinforce the emigrants. On August 1,

¹ Sir Adam Williamson (1736-1798) had been appointed governor of S. Domingo in 1794.

1795, Pitt writes to his brother, Lord Chatham: "Lord Moira remains eager for the enterprise, and I hope will be enabled to make a fresh attempt with a very considerable force in a very short time." The Earldom of Huntingdon was not conferred upon Lord Moira.

IX C 8

WILLIAM PITT *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

25 Sept. 1794.

. . . I am sorry to add the dispatch from the Duke of York contains the account of the Prince of Coburg having retreated (in consequence of the Enemy's having forced some of the Ports to his left on the Ourte) and having crossed the Roer. The enemy will probably invest Maestricht, in which there seems to be left a moderate Garrison with three months Provisions, but some doubt is expressed as to the Quantity of Ammunition. I should wish to converse with your Grace on this subject any time to-day. . . .

This letter refers to the disastrous campaign of the Allies under the Prince of Coburg and the Duke of York against the French Republicans under Carnot and Pichegru. On September 22 Pitt writes: "Though the Duke of York's retreat was, I believe, perfectly necessary, there is more and more reason to fear that his general management is what the army has no confidence in, and while that is the case there is little chance of setting things right."

IX C 4 AND 5

*Opinions on the Reversion Bill by Canning, Castlereagh,
Perceval, and Chatham.*

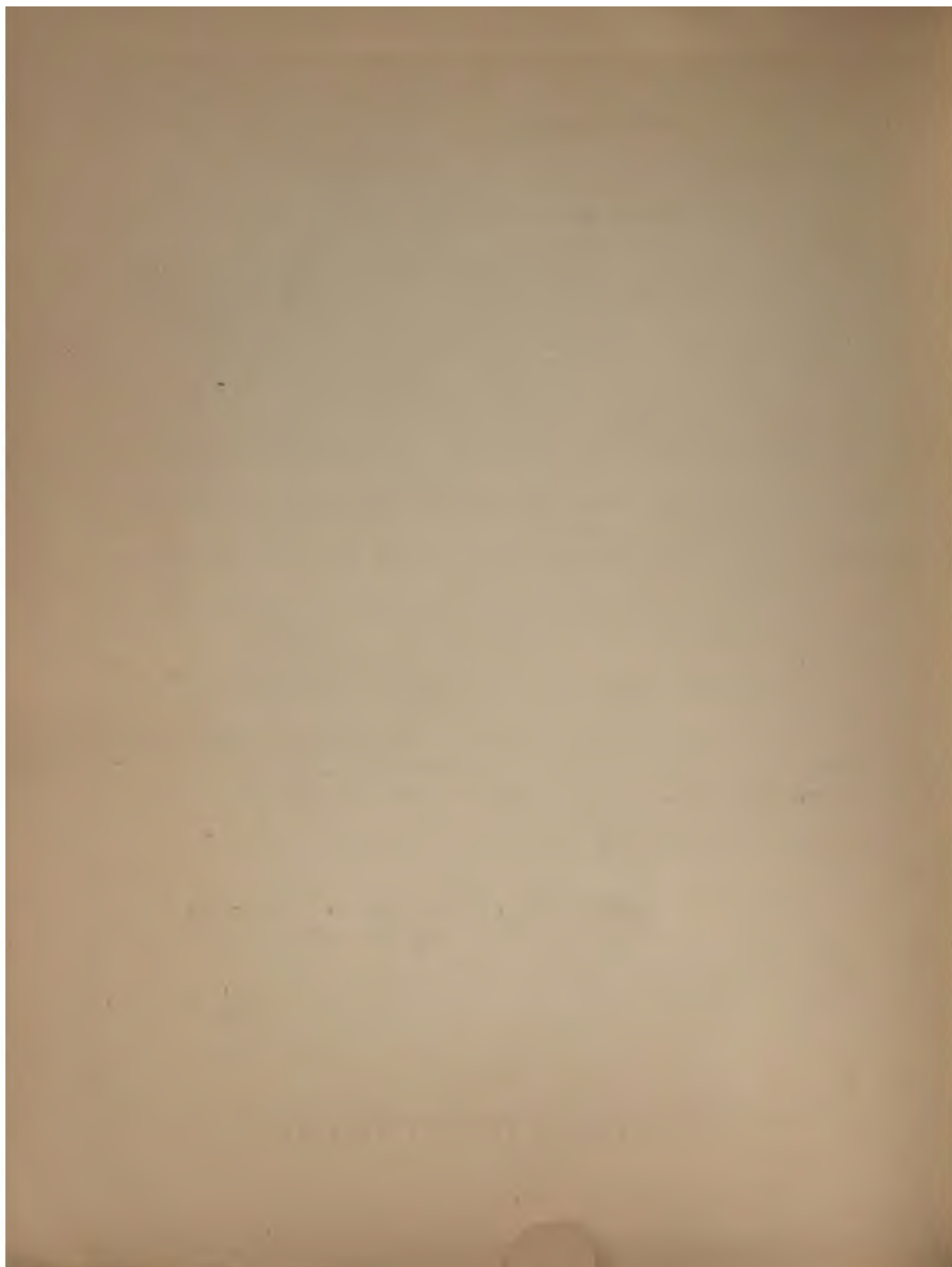
The Duke of Portland was now Prime Minister for the second time. Canning was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Castlereagh, Secretary of State for War; Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord Chatham (the second Earl), Master-General of the Ordnance.

IX C 6

GEORGE III. *to the* DUKE OF PORTLAND.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *March 3^d 1808.*

The King has received the Duke of Portland's letter and desires to assure him that he has been & continues willing to do justice to the motives which have given Rise to the line of Conduct which the Duke of Portland has taken in regard to the Reversion Bill, and to the feeling under which he has found himself obliged to support the Measure. Aware of this, His Majesty has abstained from taking any part whatsoever upon this Occasion, although he can never deny that he regrets that it should have been adopted. He has continued silent throughout its progress, and has no intention of departing from a course which has appeared to him most consistent with Propriety and with his own Dignity, whilst it is no less fair to



Mr. W. M. Pitt	to be spoke to—much influenced by S ^r G. Elliot.
Gen. Vaughan	Quebec or a Command any where.
Mr. Poulet	never votes with us.

IX D 2

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND *to* LORD SYDNEY.¹

15 Feb. 1784.

I have in consequence of the Indulgence signified to me by your Ldp. given myself more fully to consider the communication which I had the honour of receiving from you. I am highly sensible of H.M.'s goodness in wishing to put an end to the present Divisions; & no man can be better disposed to an humble Obedience to H.M.'s gracious orders to take any step in my power towards forming an extended & united Administration on a wide & solid basis. But your Ldp. is too well apprized of my unalterable opinion² *relative to the necessity of taking the concurrence of the H. of Commons as an indispensable part of any arrangement which can promise quiet to the Country or Energy to H.M.'s Government, not to perceive the impossibility of my conferring with Mr. Pitt upon any plan of ministerial Settlement*³ *whilst he remains in his present situation.*

¹ Thomas Townshend, first Viscount Sydney (1733–1800), at this time Secretary of State for the Home Department.

² *in marg.* : that the confidence of the House of Commons is indispensibly necessary to any.

³ *in marg.* : untill he shall have signified to them in some way or other his inclination to comply with their wishes.



natural, demurred. Thus the gentlemen of the St. Alban's [the Independents] had the mortification to find that so far from effecting a junction, they could not even effect an interview.” Stanhope's “Life of Pitt,” I. p. 184.

IX D 8

Received 11 July 1783.

Paper labelled by the DUKE OF PORTLAND Anonymous Abuse.

While the Duke of P—— and L—— J—— C——¹ have no higher ambition, than that of being the servile Dupes of rapacious and designing men, may it not be asked, by whom is this Country governed? Is it not by an O'B——,² a popish priest, who made a sham recantation for a purpose too obvious to mention; a S——,³ a profligate and bankrupt player, who has long since banished every Idea of conscience and honor; a F——⁴, who from his disgraceful Connexions, blackguard Vices and known necessities, affords too good reason to apprehend that his father will not be the last public defaulter of the family, and a N——⁵ who by a series of ruinous and inconsistent measures has laid Great Britain in Sackcloth and Ashes at the feet of America?

¹ Lord John Cavendish.

² Burke.

³ Sheridan.

⁴ Fox.

⁵ Lord North.

IX D 4

Printed paper giving the State of the Poll at Bristol on the 27th Octo. 1774. On November 8 BURKE was elected by a majority of 251.

IX D 5

6 Nov. 1774.

THE DUCHESS OF PORTLAND to the DUKE.

. . . .

My uncle Frederick tells me that the Ministry certainly intend to make the Bristol Election Void, which they think. they can do as both parties have given money to people to take up their freedom; & that the M[inistry] flatter themselves that the supporters of Burke will not venture to embark in a second expence. W: Burke has no doubt but he will succeed if this should happen. . . .

APPENDICES

I

(III C 2)

Maye Itt please your Moste Sacred Ma^{tie}

I am bolde humblye to presente this Booke to your Ma^{tie} which Is writt perticulerlye for your Ma^{tie} when you are Inthroned,—whye I presente Itt nowe Is because I thinke your Ma^{tie} will have more time & Leasure to reade Itt nowe then when you are Inthronde,—besides Itt Is Intended wholye for your Ma^{ties} service & Iff Itt prove so which I am Confidente Itt will, I have my full Intention, which service I woulde nott have frusterated by my Death. Ther Is no oratorye In Itt, or anye thinge stolen out off Bookes, for I seldome or Ever reade anye, Butt these discourses are oute off my longe Experience,—to presente your Ma^{tie} with truthes which greate monarkes seldom heares, these truthes are nott onlye the Honesteste butt so the wiseste, that a dewtifull servante can offer to so Gratius a master, & so wise a kinge as to bee able to Judge betwixte truth & falshood, though that falshoode bee never so subtelye disgisde I aske pardoñ for the methode havinge no notes by mee att all Iff your Ma^{tie} like Itt, I have my Endes with Unspeakable Joye & Contentmente, Iff you like Itt nott s^r, I humblye begg that favor off your Ma^{tie}, to throgh Itt In to the fier, thatt so Itt may becume a flaminge Sacrefise off my Dewtye to your Ma^{tie}, The Greate God Ever preserve your Ma^{tie}

FOR YOUR MOSTE
SACRED MATTER

THE TABLE

The Militia	1
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FOR THE MILITIA

I begin with the Militia firste because Itt Is your Ma^{tie} Undoubted prerogative, as alsoe well orderde forme, doth Everye thinge, for withoute an Arme ye In your owne handes you are butt a kinge Uppon the Courtesye of others, & can nott bee lastinge, wher on the contrarye you are Mestroe dell Campoe & gives the Lawe, & Inded without Itt, though you are the supream Judge, Itt will signifie litle, if you have nott power to determyne, which Is Armes, for otherwise the factius, and Vayne disputes, off Sophisteriall Devines & Lawyeares & other Philosophecall booke-men, will rayse rebellions, butt nott appease them,—Therfor I woulde have your Ma^{tie} have all the Armes, & Amunitia In your owne handes, & firste to begin with your Metropolitan Citeye of London, thatt greate Leviathan, thatt Monster beinge the heade, & thatt heade so much to bigg for the bodye of the comon wealth off Englande, soe thatt Master thatt citeye, & you Master the whole kingdome Ande your Ma^{tie} muste doe Itt by towse severall wayes, firste by disarminge off them, & then by Arminge your selfe, by disarminge off them totalye, In all kindes, no more Citeye Captins or Collonnells, Artilerye yarde or Militar ye yarde; & a penaltie Uppon anye thatt keepe Armes, levinge them nothinge butt their severall watches, In their severall wardes, & parishes to keepe the streetes In order^e & no more,—so much for disarminge off them, Nowe for your Ma^{tie} Arminge your selfe to over Awe them & to keepe them In order thus —To have Towe Royall fortes bulde on both sides the River off Thames, a litle belowe Grenwitch, regulated fortes Like the Citeye of Antwerpe or as your Ma^{tie} wisdome Can beste directe beinge a greate Master In the knoledge off Fortefications These fortes comandinge the River comandes the Towne & the Merchantes for feare of their trade will bee In good order, Then the Tower to bee well fortifyed, & to bee your Ma^{tie} prime Magasen, for greate store off Armes off All sortes, both for foote & Horse, with plentye off amunitian, acomodated by the advise off the beste Soldiers and Ingeneers, The Tower thus fortifyed, will comande both the towne & thatt parte off the River: Ande thus your Ma^{tie} shall tame thatt Rebellius

* with
their
brown
Bills.

Citeye, & so consequentlie all Englande thatt dependes off Itt; Itt Is Easeleye dun for their Charter Is forfeited, and theye will bee glad to take a newe one Uppon your Ma^{ties} Termes—wheras sum disputacius Scoffers will tell your Ma^{tie} this was a thinge this rebellion thatt never hapende before nor never will hapen agen thatt Is more then theye knowe, howsoever your Ma^{ties} wisdome Is to prevente Itt, thatt theye shall nott iff theye woulde; sum sayes the kinge Is absolutlye to Comande the traynde Bandes (off London), No doubt Legalye butt his Ma^{tie} your Father of blessed memorye was so farr from Comanding off them as theye weare the Authors of all his miserye & misfortunes & faughte moste agaynste him therefore putt Itt nott In their choyce s^r butt In yours & since the Riches & Purse off this Citeye was the bane and loss off your Royall Father, all followinge the Purse both by Lande & Seae; Therefore looke to your GREATESTE Mischiefe to keepe this Citeye from hurtinge you, Ande In all thinges butt Armes I shoulde humblye desier your Ma^{tie} to grante them a newe Charter with all their former priveleges, butt Armes, & to bee kinde & helpfull to them In all kindes, & to studye the Increasinge of their ritches by the mentayninge off Trade & never to Violate anye off their preveliges, Thus your Ma^{tie} will bee a Gratus kinge & theye made Loyall People & will Ever bee redye harteleye to serve you, & no more to bee prechte, pleaded, or Petitionde oute off their Alegence.—for theye thatt have the Armes have the Purse, & they thatt have the Purse hath obedience, So Thatt Armes Is all.

Nowe, for orderinge the reste off the kingdome I woulde wishe your Ma^{tie} to hide your Armes as much as you can, for people loves nott the Cudgell, Though the masteringe off London Is sumwhatt perspicuus, & Indeed Can nott bee helpde, butt for the reste iff your Ma^{tie} please to hide your forses In your Porte townes, to have them all well fortetide, & good Garisons In them, both off foote & Horse, such as your Ma^{tie} shall thinke fitteste, soe shall you secuer your selfe frome a forayne Enemye & bee able timleye to drawe Into the feilde a good Arme, agaynste Traytors & Rebels shoulde theye rise & so bee safe your selfe & have the blessinge off the People uppon you for their peace & quietnes. Moste off your Ma^{ties} porte Townes, weare Garisons in Queen Elizabeths Time, so tis no Inovation, & an Establishmente made then for whatt numbers Theye thoughte fitt, so tis as lawefull for your Ma^{tie} nowe to add or deminishe, as for Queen Elizabeth. Butt sum sayes the Charge will bee greate thatt your Ma^{ties} Counsell will verye Easeleye setle to the Contentmente off the Common welth, when theye shall playnlye perceve their peace & safetie bye Itt. I am shure these Rebels hath pulde the Scines over the peoples Eares

for their perpetuall trouble, God forbid your Ma^{ty} shoulde doe the hundrede thousande parte off Itt for their peace butt thatt difficultie off Charge will Easeleye bee settled Even by a good & wise Parlamente, Thatt knowes ther can Coume no mischeefe like a sivell warr, & this will absolutelye prevente Itt litle Inconveniencyes muste bee borne withall, & all doubtes can nott bee solvde, for a foole maye doubte more then a wise man Can Anser. sum saye agen wher ther Is trade In porte townes a Garison will spoyle Itt, howe doth Itt spoyle all the trade in Hollande, oh butt thatt Is In their owne handes saye theye Why so will your Ma: bee as loth to spoyle trade as theye, for tis your Ma^{ty} ritches, as well as the ritches off the States Generall.—I butt sayes sum agen theye can nott goe In & oute wher ther Is a Garison all the Daye I am shure ther Is no hinderinge off them & In the nighte the Governor sendes his keyes presentlye & tis dun; so thatt these questions are butt to seeme wiser then their Neygbors, or thatt Laweyars woulde nott have the Canon Lawe above them.

Nexste for the Armes off everye countye Is calde tyrande bandes, the question Is wether theye shoulde remayne or no, as thatt theye weare agaynste the kinge your Ma^{ty} Royall Father, tis trewe sum off them weare butt Itt was wher theye weare forste with greater power for manye iff nott moste weare for the kinge & serve verye well; In these late times off disloyall disputations, theye questionde wether the kinge coulde remove them oute off their countye beinge onelye a Garde & safty of Everye Countye, butt the practise & presedente shewe otherwise, for Queen Elizabeth sente traynde bandes Into France, to Henerye the Forth kinge off France your Ma^{ty} Royal Grandfather under the Conducte off the then Earle off Essex.—& thatt was oute off their countye.—Butt iff your Ma^{ty} have no traynde bandes In Everye Countye I knowe nott howe uppon anye Insurrection howe the Sheriff with his Posse Comitatus can rayse armed men when ther Is none, Soe thatt I conclude that itt is fitt to have traynde Bandes as theye weare & Greate Advantage to your Ma^{ty} withoute charge, so you make well affected Lordes, your Lorde Leutenantes. Heer I should Humblye advise your Ma^{ty} never to joyne Lordes In thatt Comition butt Everye countye to have butt one Lorde Leutenant for havinge towe Lorde Leutenantes joynde you displease both because singlye theye have nott the totall Comande, & your Ma^{ty} had better please one Man, then have towe men displeased, besides Itt will make greate faction In Everye Countye sidinge with those towe Lordes which shall never harteleye agree, & distracte your Ma^{ty} busines, with crosse comandes In the Countrey, & fill your courte full off faction In takinge the severall sides, which the Pursses off These Lordes will make

amongeste Hungerye Courtiers, & brede your Ma^{tie} a great dell off trouble & a grounde for a pretye rebellion which aughte to bee avoyded betimes, & therefore butt one Lorde Leutenant In Everye countye Ande for the Trayne Bandes thus ther Is no danger in them so longe as your Ma^{tie} masters London, & your Porte townes well Garisonde.* Iff the Londoners shoulde take Exceptions thatt other Corporated townes hath traynde bandes & theye none the Case Is not alike, both for numbers or Rebellion, since that cursed Citeye hath contrebuted more to this late horide Rebellion then all Englande besides; butt to satisfye them I thinke Itt verye fitt thatt no corporation shoulde have Armes, for theye are butt verye fewe thatt theye are willinge to Arme, & as loth theye shoulde bee musterde or Calde out off their Towne, so thatt I conclude no Corporation to be Armde, Butt the cheefe busines Is to master London, for so you master all Englande, & as one sayde whatt shoulde theye bee Armde for, butt In time off peace to playe the fooles In finsburye feeldes, In trayninge ther,—Ande in time of warr to playe the Rebells agaynst etheir kinge, so still I Conclude Master London & you have dun your worke.

The nexte Is your Ma^{ties} Royall Navye & Shippinge off Englande,—

As God & Nature hath made your Ma^{tie} the greate kinge off Ilandes & so fitteste for Shippinge, so your Ma^{ties} wisdoume will multelye your Shippinge & mariners all you can; as the olde sayenge Is your Ma^{ties} shippinge Is the Brason walls off Englande A safty att home & a terror to your Enemies Abrode, A Safty at home witness 88; which the Spanierdes remembers to this daye,—Ande for a terror abroad witnes the Rayne off Queen Elizabeth besides these Rebells thatt terefies France, makes Spayne make so dishonourable a peace with them The Portugall to Courte them by his Embasador, & the Hye & Mightye Lordes the States off the United Provinses so meanly flatter them, thatt takes them selves for the greate Lordes of the Seae; Ande all this foren feare off Englande merlye for their Shippinge & nothinge Else, therefore your Ma^{tie} will studye thatt

* Yett It weare better your Ma^{ty} had that forse In your owne handes, as a Troope off Horse In Everye Countye proportionable to the Countie, & some Dragons, which are Musketers & Pikes for the Garde off your Amunitian In thatt Countye & Butt Horste uppon ocation, & bee shure S' that you paye the Soldier alwayes your selfe by your owne ofisers, thatt theye maye wholye depende uppon your Ma^{ty} for otherwise Itt woulde bee verye Dangerous.—The Reebells nowe knowe this to well for theye doe so nowe which Is the wisest waye.

as the Principall thinge for your Power & Greatnes. Ande Trewlye weare I a Roman & so subjecte to none off these followinge kinges, shoulde I bee aske which off the three Greate kinges weare the greateste & moste powerful, Englande; France or Spayne; I would absolutlye for truth sake saye the kinge off England & merlye because off his Shippinge which absolutlye makes Itt. Therefore Increase thatt which so much Increases your Ma^{ties} power over your Neyghbors To write to your Ma^{ties} In this poynte Is nedles, for Itt woulde bee as Ridiculus for mee as a scoolmaster off a petye Scoole to teach Aristotle naye more betwixte your Ma^{ties} knoledge In Navigation & myne which Is a great coumphorte & Joye to mee, to see your Ma^{ties} take delighte In all thinges thatt muste necesarelye make you the Greateste & most Glorius monarke thatt Ever comanded your three kingdomes, all storye tells us thatt theye thatt have been Ever strongeste by Seae hath given the Lawe to their lande Neyghbors, therefore Increase your shippinge, firste for your Ma^{ties} perticuler Royall Navye, Increase Itt Everye yeare both In greater shippes & Exselente frigotts which will bee moste usefull, & your Navie ever to bee kepte In such a Condition as theye bee Ever redye In a verye shorte time to putt to seae for the Defence off your kingdome or In orderinge off your greate Neyghbors, For beinge kinge off the Narowe sease, thatt Royaltye can nott bee kepte by writinge off Bookes as mare Clausum, butt by good Ships to beate their Understandinges to Confess Itt; & Queen Elizabeth was so jelous In thatt case, as when Henerye the Forth kinge off France, your Royall Grande Father began to Increase his shippinge Shee sente him worde to disiste, for shee woulde nott loose her prorogative off the Narowe sease, & did assure him iff hee did nott desiste shee woulde burne his ships In their Havens, which hee knowinge shee was able to doe forbore, & lefte that designe, & Itt was moste wislye dun off her nott to suffer thatt greate kinge to Equall her att Seae, for then shee knewe well thatt her kingdome might bee In greate danger, The Cardinall de Richelewe his greateste Labor was to make his master greate by Seae, & trewlye hee made to greate a progress In Itt, by the neglegence off our State, butt your Ma^{ties} wisdomme, will bee carefull In thatt case nott to suffer so greate a monarke as the kinge off France & so near a Neyghbor to bee stronge by Seae, which your Ma^{ties} maye Easeleye helpe att your pleasure, for you are yett thanks bee to God his master att Seae.—For the Shippinge off your Ma^{ties} kingdome ther Is nothinge will Increase Shippinge more then Trade, Therefore your Ma^{ties} muste keepe upp the merchants all thatt possiblye you Can In all plases off your kingdome, The Herringe fishinge woulde Infinitlye Increase your mariners, besides the Inrichinge off your kingdome. Therefore thatt busines aughte to bee moste seriuslye &

well considerde—The verye Cole shippes off Newcastle, In time off nesesetye mighte bee made Exselente men off warr, makinge butt port holes for Cañon, their Number beinge, 400 Sayle.—Whatt will all the merchantes Shipps off Englande then bee their Numbers your Ma^{tie} may Easeleye have a Liste off which Is fitt your Ma^{tie} shoulde have Everye yeare thatt so your Ma^{tie} mighte the better proportion them for your service.—Sum sayes & to trewlye, that the Shippinge faylinge naye beinge agaynste the kinge your Father was his ruin, trulye Itt was The Reson the Admirall did nott doe his dewtye, Butt putt In meane menn for Captins; The remedye these thatt followes, To putt In Gentle-men for Captins younger Brothers & so theye will be Imployde for their Idlnes Else mighte bringe your Ma^{tie} trouble att home for Idlness & wante produses Ill Consequenses In a Statc, then to have so manye lande Soldiers to master the mariners In Everye Shipp, butt the sureste & safeste waye for your Ma^{tie} Is to bee master off London, for so your Ma^{tie} maye bee shure off your Navye and Shippinge off your kingdome, for moste sertenlye theye will followe the Purse, & your Ma^{tie} Comādinge thatt, ther Is no feare off the other att All. Thus will your Ma^{tie} bee master both by Lande & Seae. your Ma^{tie} muste bee verye Carefull whome you make Admirall, though so Longe as you master London ther Is no greate danger. I have harde M^r Selden the Laweyeaere saye thatt by Lande uppon knightes fees your Ma^{tie} uppon thatt foote justlye myght rayse 60,000: thousande Horse, then howe manye more In your kingdome off Englande, foote numerouslye, Then how Greate a monarke Is your Ma^{tie} both by Lande & Seae, merlye by your kingdome off Englande besides your Ma^{ties} other towe kingdomes to boote: Ande thus much for the militia by Lande, & your Shippinge by Seae.

I leave Itt to your Ma^{ties} wisdome & Consideration to thinke whatt Gardes both off foote, & Horse Is fitteste to garde your Ma^{ties} Sacred Person, as the kinge off France hath, butt nott so numerous, besides your Ma^{ties} ordinarye Garde & your Garde off Pentioners, which I wishe mighte bee made more usfull to you the laste which Is the Pentioners, then Ever yett I sawe them moste nott keepinge a Horse butt recevinge the pention, which pention Is merlye for kepinge off Horses.—Ande thus much for the Militia In all kindes.

FOR THE CHURCH

*Certeync Considerations, comparinge Poperye, Presbetrye, & the Episcopacy
off the Church off Englande In order to Monarchy.*

Monarchy is the Governente In Cheef off the whole Bodye Poletick, In all Itt partes, & Capaseties by one Person only.

So that iff eyther the whole body Poletick bee under anye pretence governed in cheef by more then one generally Itt Is no monarchy.

Ther bee towe mayne partes off Every Body Poletick Espetialye amongeste Christiens, *vid*: the State Civill, & the State Ecclesiasticall.

Iff both these states or partes off the Body Poletick bee nott governde In cheef by one, & the same Person, theye can nott bee sayde to bee partes off the same Monarchy.

Both these states are nott nor can nott bee Governde In cheef by one & the same Person wher the state Ecclesiasticall Is eyther Popishe, or Presbyterian.

Because the State Ecclesiasticall, iff Itt bee Popishe, will bee governde In cheefe, by none butt the Pope; Ande iff Itt bee Presbyterian Itt will bee Governde In cheefe by none, butt Itt selfe, the one *vid*: Popery introducinge another Soverayne; & the other *vid* Presbytry Erectinge another Soveraignty In the same body Poletick, & consequentely theye are both off them Destructive unto monarchy.

Neyther can a Prince bee Soverayne so much as In Civill matters, so longe as any other besides him selfe, eyther abrode, or att Home doth clayme & exercise a Soveranety over the same Subiects, though In pretence Itt bee butt In Ecclesiasticis only Because those thatt pretende to a Soverayne powre In Ecclesiasticalls muste nedes pretende, as In deed both the conclave, & the clavis doe pretende to a soverayne power off judginge likewise, whatt Is Ecclesiastick & Consequentely affirminge whatt theye please to bee Ecclesiasticall they maye Governe as theye please Even In those thinges, thatt are meerly Civell;

See thatt suposinge 2: supreme distincte Judicatories, the one Civell, & the other Ecclesiasticall, In the same kingdome as ther muste nedes bee iff eyther popery or Presbetry bee admitted, ther can nott chuse butt bee perpetuall clashinge, betwixte these 2. Jurisdiccions & the Abettors of them, the one continuallye eyther afrontinge, or undermininge, or beinge afronted or undermined by the other, Howe then shall the People bee

distracted to soverayne Powers att one time In one kingdome muste nesesarelye so distracte thatt kingdome as Itt muste faule Into a Civill warr,

Historye will tell your Ma^{tie} whatt sturrs the Pope hath made In Englande & the Presbeterians much worse, as your Ma^{tie} to well knowes, For Indeed, Popery, & Presbetry, though theye looke divers wayes, with their heads, yett theye are tied together like Samsons Foxes by theyr Tayles Carienge the same fierbrandes off Covetusnes & Ambition, to putt all Into a Combustion whersoever theye coume, thatt will nott Submitt to them,

Ande therefore as your Ma^{ties} predesors, to redeem them selves frome Slaverye to the Conclave did wislye & couragiaslye drive out Poperey, so Itt is nott to bee doubted, butt your Ma^{tie} thatt nowe Is, will to prevente the same or a worse bondage to the Classis, with the same wisdome & Courage keepe out the Presbetry; as beinge Indeed a Bondage, by so much worse & more Ignominus then Popery, by howe much Itt Is worse to bee subiecte to many Tirants. Then to one Ande by howe much Itt Is less Ignominus for a kinge to bee a Vasall to a foreyne Prince, then to the meaneste off his owne subiects,

Neyther Is ther Indeed any nesesety, or cause att all, why your Ma^{tie} or Parliament, shoulde so much as thinke off the admittinge, eyther off the one or other, off those Governments wher wee as I have sayde, the kinge him selfe must Submitt & becomee a subiecte, when wee are alredye Poseste off an Ecclesiasticall Governente Instetuted by the Apostles, Receved & Aproved by the Primitive Christians, Establishte by the Princes & Parlements off our owne kingdome, pretendinge to no power over the kinge att All, nor no power under the kinge neyther, butt from him, & by him; teachinge Active obedience to all the Lawefull Comandes, off Lawefull Aughtoretye, & pascive obedience even to those Comandes, that are nott Lawefull, so the Aughtoretye Comandinge them bee nott unlawfull; Forbiddinge & Condemninge all takinge upp off Armes, eyther offensive, or Deffensive by Snbiects off any qualetye, or In anye Capaseteye whatt soever havinge no dependenceye or relation to anye forayne Prince to protecte or Asiste frome abroad, nor anye foundation for the People to rise for Itt, or with Itt att home butt the Church off Englande wholye & totalye dependinge uppon your Ma^{tie} Therefore Establishe our Establishte religion the church off Englande by so manye Princes, & so manye Parlements Confirmde both by Gods Lawes & the Lawes off the kingdome Ande thus shall your Ma^{tie} bee nott onlye an absolute kinge Butt Pope within your Dominions, Nexte, & Imediatlye after Christe Supreme head &

Governor, & Defender off the Trewe, Antiente & Apostolicall Fayth; Ande your Subiects an Easeye & sweet Governement In comparison off the other towe moste Teranicall Governments, eyther off Popery, or Presbetry.

Butt methinkes I heare sum Popishlye affected saye whye nott Poperye In Englande as well as France since the kinge off France doth whatt hee liste, I denye thatt, for theye weare forste to sett upp the Sorbon off Paris to qualefye & order the Pope for the Advantage off the kinge & State which was a greate trouble to their Government the Popes Tirenys, Ande was nott Cardnall de Rish et Lewe Laboringe Itt Extremlie to make a reconsiliation between the Roman Catholikes off France, & the Hugonetts off France & had gaynde manye ministers, absolutlye thinkinge to throwe off the hevye yoke off the Pope & sett upp a Bishope off their owne, to bee Pope off France this Is Generallye knowne. so to have no dependance off the Pope att All; & though Itt coste him much Labor & moneye to gayne the Pope then In beinge which was Barbaryne, the trouble thatt hee had with Itt made him desierus to bee ridd off Itt. The Landes are greate theye poses In France, though sum Princes shares with them, howe manye thousande Clergye men, & moste off their orders good for nothings butt Bread Eaters bringes no honye to the Hive off the Comhon wealth like laborius Bees, Tradsmen, farmers, or soldiers butt devoers the Honye off the Comhon wealth like Hornitts or waspes, bringes nothings In time off Peace to the Comhon wealth, & will nott defende Itt In time off warr.

Sum sayes thatt Spayne & the Pope agreee; tis trewe the kinge off Spayne for the moste parte makes him his Chaplinge & so comonlye theye juggle for their Endes. Butt I beleve the kinge off Spayne was troublede suffittientlye when Pope Barbarine was for France. Butt howsoever sertenlye iff the kinge off Spayne was heade off the Church within all his dominions as your Ma^{tie} Is & the Church proportionde as your Ma^{tie} Is no doubte butt hee woulde bee a much more powerfull kinge then hee Is.

For presbetrye Itt Is as distructive to monarchye as uncomleye in Itt, & a litle to sauseye with God Almightye sans seremoneye, butt lett anye tell mee wher anye monarkeye Is wher Itt Is planted, naye wher theye are butt aloude as In France whatt worke have theye made howe manye Civell warra, untill Cardnall Richelewe tooke order with them In takinge a waye all theyr stronge Holdes.—Whatt Civell wars have theye made In Germaneye such Combustions. Therefore I Conclude S^r absolutlye the Church off Englande both for the quiett off your Ma^{tie} & your subjectes.

Sum will saye In poynte off Gayne to Inritch your Ma^{tie} to take Bishopricks & church livinges a waye thatt sertenlye Is misunderstood, for their landes beinge all In lease will nott bee solde for much, & whatt with

firste frutes double subsideies, & manye other thinges, your Ma^{tie} will nott loose much In poynte off Profitt, for when one BB: dyes you maye remove moste & In govermente & beinge absolute kinge you will loose verye much, for Itt was sayde moste trewlye no Bishop no kinge, for our late troubles hath justefied thatt sayenge to much, Thatt the subversion off the Bishops woulde bee an advantage to the Comon wealth, Is verye false for nowe all the BB^{es}, Deans & Chapters Estates are In the handes off the Layetye their Tenents att moste Easeye rates, & allmoste as good as Inheretence & shoulde theye faule Into Laye Lordes handes, Ther Tenants woulde Curse the times thatt made them soe,

For the Bishops sittenge In the upper house sertenlye theye have as much & as Antiente right off Sittenge ther as anye peer off the Relme for though Itt Is the Inheretence off a Peer off the Relme & to his posteretye yett thatt Lordes posteretye maye fayle, butt a Bishops sede never, Exsepte roote & Branshe bee pulde upp as In these Rebellius & wicked times.— Ande since all the Bishops depende uppon you, tis no disadvantage to your Ma^{tie} to have them sitt In the house.

Itt is nott
the three
Estates
iff the
Bishops
bee oute.
for Itt is
the
Lordes
Spiritual
Tempor-
all &
Comons.

Nowe for the Bishops theye shoulde bee chosen wise men for govern-ment rather then Scoole devines & nott to make a numerus clergie for a litle moneye to their Secretaries to undoe our church & Comon welth, for wher ther are nott livinges for those ministers theye muste off necesetye run Into Lecturers for their livlyhoode, & as necesarelye to please their benefactors preach sedition In church & Comon welth, & preach downe the Person off the Parishe & make him bee dispised & then theye thinke theye have dun their worke, therfore to proportion the clergie ackordinge to the Livinges thatt Is for them with a smale over plus; & to alowe off no Lectorers which muste bee the Bishops care, & to make no minister thatt Is nott orthodoxe to the church off Englande For your Ma^{tie} knowes by towe woefull Experience Thatt these Lectorers have preachte your Ma^{tie} oute off your kingdoumes, & with Ill prechinge to butt with greate Sedition, & faction. & Inded the Lectorers one off the greateste Causes off our Late Miseries, Therfore no Lectorers att all In no place Then I shoulde wishe thatt these Bishops In their severall Diasces, might moste Carefullye looke unto Scoolemasters, frome the Pettye Scooles to the Gramer Scooles, thatt theye bee orthodoxe ackordinge to the church off Englande, & so to Educate their Puples for sertenlye as wee are Bred off thatt Religion or opinion wee are off for the moste parte, iff your Ma^{tie} please to looke with unpartiall eyes uppon the whole worlde you shall finde Itt soe; Therfore this poynte aughte to be verye Carefullye lookte unto; & nott wevers to teach petye scooles & Expounde the Bible which hath added much to our miseries &

Even the females, all Girles must goe to the same pettye Schooles, for iff they bee Infected with a wevers Doctrine att firste theye will Infecte their Husbandes afterwarde therefore no teachinge off Scooles eyther pettye or Grafter Scooles butt such as the Bishops shall allowe off and thinke fitt.

The nexte Is greate care off the Universeties, no heades off houses butt orthodexe, nor no studente thatt Is off another opinion butt Expell him the Universetye for such milke as theye suck att firste their nourishmente will bee ackordinglye & Iff Itt run cleer att the springe Head Itt will bee clere all the waye & thus your Ma^{ty} In a litle time will bringe your church Insensiblye as you woulde have Itt, for as wee are bredd, so wee live, & so wee dye for the moste parte,

No minister to have above one livinge, To preach everye Sundaye, & holedaye, & butt once & to Catechise In the after noone,—Butt I shoulde wishe no man to preach his owne sermons butt such as our Reverende Bishops shoulde aprove off, that Is as so manye Homiles for the proper Sundayes & Holadyes for the Compas off a yeare to bee made & printed, & so sente to Everye Parson off Each parishe to bee prechte, & to preach no other & those sermons to preach Jesus christe our salvation, Godlye life, to avoyde Sin, & exercise charetye, & perpetuallye to Instructe the people off their obedience to their superiors & Governours, with all the respecte thatt maye bee.—Naye the Catechisinge to bee printed, as well as the sermons, for otherwise theye will take libertye ther,—Thus shall your Ma^{ty} bringe greate quiett to your selfe & your People, In nott disputinge your rights & prerogative In Pulpetts, to Inflame the People with disobedience, or rayle off their Governours, & Everye Sundaye make libells off them In their sermons & when once othoretye Is dispised whatt Can followe butt a Civell warr,—The Emperour off Russia findinge the People apte to Comotions beinge sturde upp bye the Pulpetts, made a Lawe thatt none shoulde preach anye sermons, butt whatt was deliverde by the Bishops to the ministers & printed & braught a greate quiett & setlemente to his kingdome onlye by this meane,—I do nott meane thatt Bishops, or deanes shoulde bee tied upp, or a perticuler favor frome the Bishops sumtimes to sum thatt are discrete to preach sumtimes, butt otherwise all to preach nothinge butt the Printed Sermons, wherin your Ma^{ty} & your People will finde greate Ease & quiett.—Itt Is verye fitt for the Bishope off Canterburye & the Bishop off London to bee off your Ma^{ty} privye Counsell; to sitt ther still for whatt maye Conserne the church or the Scooles butt no more Bishops off the Counsell, nor no Bishop to bee made Lorde keeper, Lorde Tresorer, or anye other Laye office nor no Devine a Justice off Peace, for Itt Is verye Improper theye shoulde medle with anye thinge oute off the Church—Butt the greate Incom-

venience Is, thatt when Bishops are made greate ofisers & Devines Justises off Peace, Itt rayses so much malise & Envie In the Nobilitye Genterye Lawe-yeares, & Coñons, as theye never reste untill theye pull them downe & ruin the church as your Ma^{ty} hath seen by our Late & woefull Experience.—When off the other Side the clergie nott medlinge In Laye busines, the Lordes, Genterye & Coñons are so farr frome beinge agaynste them as theye are for them, & the church nott beinge proude & Haughtye over the Layetye butt gentle & Curtius to them, the Layetye will uppholde the church, nott Intrenchinge one off another butt each off them kepte In their severall Circles, will peaceably joyne to serve your Ma^{ty} In a hapye harmonye for your Governente.—wher ther are manye poore Vicrages, Itt weare fitt theye shoulde bee made upp a 200^l a yeare a peece, for worthy men to Injoye them, butt frome whence this moneye shoulde Coume Is the poynte, to forse the Layetye to sell their Impropreations, weare as greate an Injustice as to sell anye off the reste off his Inheretance for soe Is his Impropreation; The Layetye made them nott so neyther, Butt the Pope att the Petition off the Abotts to have them anexte to their monesteries, Ande when the dissolution off the Abyes fell, their apurtenances which weare the Impropreations fell with them, Henerye the 8th did nott begin this, butt Cardinal Wolseye gott an order or decre frome the Pope to demolishe so manye abyes for the Buldinge off Christchurch In Oxforde & Else wher, & Itt maye bee Itt helpte to bulde Whit-Hale, which was the Cardinalls house belonginge to the Seae off Yorke, Itt maye bee those monesteries helpte to bulde Hamton Courte to, which was Cardinal Wolseyes House alsoe—Soe your Ma^{ty} sees thatt Henerye the 8th followed butt the Cardinal & the Pope as his presedents, & I wish thatt Henerye the 8th had never dun a worse thinge then pullinge downe the Abyes, for those Abyes Coverde with seminge pietye much sin & wickednes, besides devoeringe so much off the Coñon welth, litle servinge Itt att anye time. Butt Enough off this iff nott to much for Itt yett stickes In the stomach off moste off our Clergeye —Butt to Increase the Vicrages to a 200^l a yeare at leaste for worthy men to live off them Is the busines, A Bishop tolde mee hee thoughte Itt might well bee made oute off the Bishopricks Ther Is an other waye maye bee added to Itt, which Is a house In Philipe Lane Calde Sion founded by Docter White, which did more hurte In the Church then anye thinge I knowe for ther theye mett serteyne days In the weeke so manye ministers had a full good Diner & ther theye woulde apoynte howe shoulde preach att moste churches In London, the renewse thatt Came In to bye oute Impropreations off greate Value & this beinge In the bresbeterians hands, The apoyntinge the ministers to preach, sowed sedition & the moneye &

Impropereations they baughte In mentaynde sedition. soe thatt iff your Ma^{ty} take Itt In to your owne handes, & apoynte Honeste & wise orthodoxe cleuines Comitioners, to order thatt busines for the Benefitt off the church, & the Bishoppe off London Supervisor, Itt will bee advantagius to Gods church, & your Ma^{ty} Gouvernente In stervinge the bresbeteria, & better sedinge off Christes Church In augmentation off the Vicrages. Heer I humblye offer to your Ma^{ty} thatt hee thatt you make Bishop off London mighte bee both a wise sturinge & stoute man & to preach often amongst them. sturringe because the Citeye Is greate & subjecte to manye sectes, & ssem's, Stoute to punishe, & wise In doinge Itt discreetlye,—Ande for preachinge Itt will take thatt Citeye verye much, beinge given so much to preachinge, sortenlye the coledge Calde Sion coulede nott have apoynted preachers In London had the Bishop off London Carefullye as hee aught to have lookte unto Itt.

Thus the Parson off everye Parishe to preach everye Sundaye on Printed Sermon In the fore noone & to Cathekise oute off the printed Cathekisme In the afternoon, & Everye holedaye to preach such printed sermons proper for those holedayes;—Ande no Lecterors or other times for Service on the weeke dayes, will bringe your Ma^{ty} & your People a great dell of quiett, The Roman Catholikes makes so manye holedayes by their numerous Sayntes, as poore trades men & Laboringe men can nott Live off their severall Calinges for them, & the presbeterians, so manye severall dayes In the weeke with their Exercisinge & Prophosinge as Itt undoes poore people takinge them frome their Calinges, as much as the Roman Catholikes doth, Butt the Church off Englande Is so well orderde In neyther to fewe or to manye holedayes eyther one waye or other, as Itt Is sufficiente for the Puplike Service off God & nott to distracte the comon people from their livyhoods. For God apoynted Six dayes to Labor & the seventh to reste and serve him so In obedience to thatt & manye holedayes to boote wee have which Is sufficiente.—The Bible in Englishe under everye wevers & Chambermadyes Arme hath dun us much hurte. Thatt which made Itt one waye Is the Universeties aboundes with to manye Scollers Therefore iff Every Coledge had butt halfe the number theye woulde bee better fodd & as well taughte —butt thatt which hath dun moste hurte is the Abundance off Grafter Scooles & Ins off Courtes. The Tresorer Burleygh sayde ther was to manye Grafter Scooles, because Itt made the plowe & the Carte bee neglected, which was to feede us, & defende us, for ther are fewe thatt Can reade thatt will putt their handes to the plowe or the Carte & Armeys are made off Comon Soldiers & ther are verye fewe thatt Can reade that will Carye a muskett, & ther are so manye Scooles now as moste reade, so Indeed ther shoulde bee butt such a proportion, as to serve the Church & moderatiye

the Lawe, & the merchantes, & the reste for the Labor for Else theye run oute to idle & unesesarye People, thatt becoumes, a factius burthen to the Comon wealth for when moste was unletterde Itt was much a better worlde both for peace & warr.—Everye Sundaye & Holedaye after devine Service, Lett the People a Gods Name have their Lawefull recreations,

For seremoneye In the church Itt Is as nesesarye as anye thinge, for though seremoneye Is nothinge In Itt selfe yett Itt doth Everye thinge Itt kepes upp Gods house, the kinges & the Comon wealth for withoute Itt ther Is no distinction, & then ther muste bee Confusion. withoute seremoneye whatt Is our church off Englande Coumde to nothinge whatt Is our late kinge Coumde to murtherde withoute Seremoneye whatt Is our Lordes coumde to dispisde & nothinge, withoute seremoneye the Genterye Loste, & Everye thinge In Confution. Therefore juste such seremoneye as the church off Englande teaches which Is nott so much as the Roman church, which uses so manye pupett playes as makes Itt rediculus to the People, nor so litle as the Presbeterians as almoste takes awaye the Peoples Reverence In your Ma^{ties} chapell, & all Cathedrall churches ackordinge to the church off Englande, & In all other churches ackordinge to the Lawes off the Relme, & nott force anye thinge beyonde Itt, as the comunion Table to stande Alterwayes or otherwise ackordinge To the Lawes of the Relme, howe manye Bookes was writt aboute the standinge off the Comunion table, which was one thinge thatt began our troubles, as one sayde merelye ther was much adoe aboute the standinge off the Table, wether Itt shoulde stande like a Dresser table or a shovelborde Table, Itt Is nott howe the table standes butt howe the Communicants wortheleye receves thatt holye Sacramente off the Lordes Supper,—with all reverence & seremoney So thatt your Ma^{ties} muste see thatt all desente seremonye bee kepte upp In the church, or Else the church will faule to nothinge as Itt hath Latlye dun,—Then no disputations butt In Scooles, Nor no Bookes off Controverseye writt butt in Latin for Else the People woulde bee over heated with Itt for controverseye Is a Civell warr with the Pen which pulls oute the sorde soone afterwardea.—all prayer Bookes, & Bookes off Pietye In Englishe & none Else & all Bookes whatt soever thatt Is written eyther by devines or Philosophers or anye other thatt maye make the leaste rente In church or state presentlye to bee Condemnde & burnte by the handes off the Hangman, & the aughtors severlye punishte Even to death iff the Crime requier Itt. for your Ma^{ties} aughte to bee verye watchfull & Carefull In this poynte, for heer Justice Is greate clemenceye & merceye for a fewe to but suffer, rather then so manye distroyde In a Civell warr—& your Ma^{ties} muste looke betimes to Itt as soone as Itt peepees towards a sedition for In the begininges Itt Is

Easeye to suppres thatt which when Itt hath taken a heade Itt maye suppres your Ma^{ty}—The Bishoppes shoulde looke that all Noble mens chaplins shoulde bee orthodexe.—Ande In all Ecclesiasticall Courtes Theye shoulde bee Gentle to the Layetye & nott to Excomuncate for Everyr tith sheafe, or bee Litigius for thatt will never Gayne the People, butt the Contrary, & Excommunication Is a thinge off a hye nature & therfore to bee used butt In Exterordinarye Cases, & for goinge to Lawe for Everye tith Egg the Person will loose by Itt In the Ende for when Itt Is tride by a Jureye Itt will pinch off the Persons Side, a Person tolde mee thatt beinge kinde to his Parishoners, theye woulde bringe home all his tith both haye & Corne, his fewell both wood & Cole & Indeed doe anye thinge for him hee desierd, for iff hee bee a wrangling Parson, the Puplick Purse will bee to harde for his private purse, & the Jureye off Countrey men will bee for the Parishe lett him preach whatt hee will,—so for this worlde kindnes Is the beste for the Person, & charetye & love for the nexte sertenlye.—Sum will saye thatt the Pride off our church did overthrowe Itt, I doubte ther was to much off Itt, & sum wonderinge att Itt, sum sayde the pride off their lerninge made them unjustlye thinke all others fooles, when the olde sayenge Is the greateste clerkes are not the wiseste men; sum agayne sayes thatt havinge been scoolemasters, & Tutors In Universities to their Puples, & the Imperiall Comande theye have had over Boyes, makes them thinke that all the Layetye are to bee used like boyes butt the Layetye hath wipte them oute off the Church, sum agayne sayes thatt iff theye reade storye, & Cesars Comentaries thatt theye are greater Soldiers than Cesar was, iff theye rede the poleticks, or matchevile uppon Liveye, butt Espetiallye his Prince then theye are greater statemen then anye Ever was; when Cesar, Pompeye, Brutus, Cassius, did no good att all agaynste Cromwell, & Ireton, for anye aplication I Ever harde they coulede make—Itt Is nott Bookes, butt practise thatt doth all In this worlde,—Butt howsoever I shoulde wishe them thatt which theye preach moste which Is humiletye, & to forgive which sum sayes Scollers are unapte to sum thinkes because theye are nott sufferde such private revenges as the Layetye hath,—Butt sertenlye I thinke these weare scandalls layde uppon our church to pull Itt downe then thatt Itt was truth,—& when God & your Ma^{ty} restores our church, I make no doubte butt your clergie bye their wise demenor & Carige will prove all these moste false & scandelous aspertions by their humiletye & other Personall virtewae.—Ande Everye Bishop In his severall diases, shoulde bee your Ma^{ty}s faythfull Intelegensers, whatt papists are In their diases, whatt presbetarians & other sismaticks whatt Scoolemasters, & howe the Nobiletye & Genterye are affected & whatt ritches, & whatt power theye

have with the People & Even the disposition off the People.—So the Chanselor off Each Uuiversetie, by his Vise Chanselor, naye to have other private Docters spies over their Governente whoe are heades off houses to Informe wher anye thinge Is a miss, & the Chanselors to Informe your Ma^{tie}, so the severall Bishops to informe his Grace off Canterburie, or London, & theye to Informe your Ma^{tie}—That which hath dun much hurte In our Church Is this, In Queen Elizabeths time olde Burleye favorde the Puretan faction to much, so did Secretarye Walsingham, & the Earle off Leicester thatt greate favorite then had a plott to pull downe the Bishoppes had nott good Whitgifte the then Bishop off Canturburye stode In the Gapp & savde our church, & God knowes his power was nott so greate as all good men wishte him. After this the Earle off Essex thatt was beheded followed the track off his Father-In Lawe Leaster, In favoringe the Puretan partye; After-wardes as theye sayde The Late Duke off Buckingham favorde the puritan faction & had the greateste puretan to ride In the Coch with him, & my Ladye his mother a Roman Catholike to keepe upp thatt partye, & my Ladye his sister to keepe upp the puritan partye, & thus the poore church off Englande was squesde betwene these towe factions helde upp by the powerfull favorites off Courte, for their state Endes which hath braught us to this Woefull miserye Thatt moste Exselente person M^r Hooker had nott writt his Ecclesiasticall poleseye, butt thatt the Puretans troubled the State then In Queen Elizabethes time, & therefore shoulde have been Lookte to In time, & nott have been helde upp bye the Greate ons,—your Ma^{tie} muste have an Exacte ackounte whatt semenarye priests Jesuitts & friers are In Englande, Scottlande & Irelande, which your Ma^{tie} maye Easeleye have nott onely by the Information off the Pursuivants, butt by sum false Brothers amongeste them, besides ther will manye faule to our Side eyther for Contience, or Gayne, which will well Informe the Bishop off Canterburie & hee your Ma^{tie}, In thatt busines, Theye saye Secretarye Walsingham mentaynde younge Scollers In moste off theyr houses beyonde Seae to give him Intelegence off all the Englishe Priestes their names dispoitions Digneties, & designes, As farr as theye Coulede lerne.—Ande so off the Roman Church In Generall Naye I have harde thatt S^r Francis Walsingham had towe Cardinalis feede his att Roome which was much when ther was such an open detestation off the pope In Englande then,—for the Puretans & Sismeticks there are lawes suffittiente to punishe them Iff theye bee putt In Execution,—as In the begininge off our Bible your Ma^{tie} maye see, by actes off Parlamente I thinke In Edward the 6th time, renewde In Queen Elizabethes time, & so In kinge James your Ma^{ties} Grande-Father off Blessed

* Yett I
knowe
your
Ma^{ty} will
have a
greate
care off
tender
Conti-
nences.

memorye,—* Butt S^r ther Is nothings can so well sette the church & keepe Itt
In order as the power to bee In your owne handes, which Is the Drum & the
Trumpett, for disputts will never have an Ende, & make newe & greate
disorders, butt force quiett all thinges & so this amongsts the reste.

FOR THE LAWE

In time off Poperye, the Church did swell so much as Itt became Hedro-
picall, & woulde have distroyed the whole kingdome & devorde Itt, had
Itt nott been Lookte to In time, wittnes the Lawe off morte-men, for had
nott that been dienge men what woulde theye nott give to purchase Heaven
att that pinch, & had nott thatt Lawe then have made & putt In Execu-
tion, thatt verye thinge woulde have att length purchased all the kingdome
In to the handes off the Ecclesiasticks.

After the reformation & Disolution off the Abies, then the Lawe crept
upp, & att laste grewe to bee so numerous, & to such a vast Bodye, as Itt
suelde to bee to bigg for the kingdome, & hath been no smale meanes to
fomente & continewe this late & unfortunate Rebellion,—Howe to deminish
them woulde bee a harde worke theye have taken so Deepe rootes in Englande,
To lessen their fees will nott doe Itt,—Fewer Grauer Schooles woulde doe
well, for Iff you Cutt off much Readinge & writinge, ther muste bee fewer
Lawe-yeares, & so Consequentye Clarkes, which I have been crediblye
Informde thatt ther are 60.000 clerkes att Leaste, what number off Lawe-
yeares then,—the Nurseries off them shoulde bee Lockte unto nott to bee to
manye,—whatt abundance off Ins are ther, as Furnevalls In, Staples In &
God knowes howe manye ther shoulde [be] sufficiente, butt nott an overplus,
& thatt woulde abate them Howe was Itt heertofore thatt In the Courte off
Cotton Please wher ther are none butt Serientts admitted to pleade, thatt
In those dayes ther was butt one Seriente & hee pleaded both for the
playntive & defendente,—As nowe iff Itt please your Lo^{ps} for the Playntive,
—& when hee had don thatt then after hee began, maye Itt please your
Lo^{ps} nowe for the Defendante,—Ande nowe ther are so manye Serientes so
manye off the Coyfe as theye are nott able to stande att the Cotton Plea-
Barr, & their Fees beinge so Greate drayns the Purses off the poore Subjecte
beinge forste to have so manye off Counsell off Each Side,—& att Everye
Call off Serientts, everye Seriente payes your Ma^{ty} 500^s apeece, which your
Ma^{ty} never hath butt sum Courtiers,—so your Ma^{ty} had better give a
1000^s a peece then make them both for your owne Sake & your poore
Subjects, for your owne sake when theye are advanced to bee Serientts, theye

presentlye thinke off higher & greater places, & beinge so many serientts, theye Can nott all bee preferde neyther are theye all wortheye, those thatt are nott preferde then theye muteneye, & strive to doe your Ma^{ties} all the mischeefe theye can under the pretence off Lawe, & will bringe your verye Prerogative In dispute oute off Revenge, & hope off Prefermente which was once their waye, —Thus Itt doth hurte your Ma^{ties} for hurtinge your poore Subjects Itt drayns their Purses some off them to Begereye. I have harde manye saye thatt the Chanserye hertofore had butt verye fewe Causes judgde ther,—Ande nowe off Late I have harde the Subiecte much complayne off Itt, as one off the greateste Grevances off the kingdome, for sayes the Subiecte ther Is Lawe & chanserye, iff one side have the better, In the Lawe the other partye bringes him presentlye In to the chanserye, for the Chanserye aught to doe nothinge agaynste the Lawe, butt to mitegate the Rigor off the Lawe, butt, uppon this truth, ther Is never a cause In anye courte off Englande butt firste or laste Itt coumes Into the Chanserye & then God knowes howe manye yeares Itt may bee ther as manye Shutes have been, this the Subiecte complayns off much & I wishe Itt weare redreste, & thatt no Sute whattsoever shoulde Continewe above a twelve-month att the Longeste,—* This woulde Ease the poore Subiecte mighteleye,—Butt your beste Counselors, & advisers In these Cases, Is a wise & holosome Parlamente, thatt would Settle all thinges to your Ma^{ties} Contentmente & the Contentmente off your Loyall Subiectes—Some sayes ther are so manye Laweyears In the house as woulde obstructe anye thinge thatt Is agaynste their proffitt trewlye I doe nott beleve thatt, for sertenlye ther are manye wise, worthe & Ho^{bl} persons thatt belonge to the Lawe, thatt woulde rather bee for the Publike good then a private & perticuler Benefitt.—Some saye agen thatt ther Is no man fitt to bee Lorde keeper or Lorde Chanselor which have been two distincte offices heertofore, Butt a Coñon Lawyeare, their reson Is this saye theye iff the Lorde keeper Is to doe nothinge agaynste the Lawe butt onlye to mitigate the Rigor off Itt, iff hee bee nott a Laweyare, how shall hee knowe, whatt to doe when hee doth nott knowe the Lawe, theye saye well Butt yett itt maye bee anserde thatt one thatt Is no Lawyeare maye bee a verye goode Lorde keeper, as ther hath been In former times both off the Church & Genterye havinge alwayes Judges to assiste him for poynts off Lawe, as hee maye cale oute off anye Courte whatt Judges hee pleaseth,—Naye some greate Laweyears have don so often uppon some greate Cause knowinge the Lawes as well as the Judges thatt hee sente for Some Scandelus People woulde saye hee onlye sente for the Judges onlye to hide his Corruption, butt I hope Itt was for a better Ende,—But trewlye In my opinion I doe thinke a Lawe-yeare absolutlye Is the fitteste man to bee Lorde-keeper.

* eyther
In the
chanserye
or anye
Courte
else.

Then the Courte off Requests, when the Earle off manchester was priueye Seale, hee made so Considerable as beinge so full off Causes as the Lorde-keeper complaynde off Itt, For the kinges Bench thatt courte properlye belonges to the Crowne both Criminell & Sivel—For the Exchequer thatt properlye belonges to your Ma^{ties} Reuenues & I have harde manye Saye thatt ther are such abundance off officers belonginge to thatt Courte as Itt Is much to your Ma^{ties} prejudice as well as to the Coshon wealth, Butt I have harde the Lorde Coventrye, thatt was Lorde keeper off Englande whoe was both a wise man & a good Lawe-yeare and well practised In the Checker, affirme thatt though manye wente aboute to alter the Governemente, & Coustum off that Courte, thatt all the witts In the worlde Coude nott posiblye order Itt better then Itt was, butt was forste alwayes att Length to faule Back to the olde Governemente Itt weare verye requisitt thatt your Ma^{ty} had an understandinge Honeste man to your Tresorer Iff ther bee such a one to bee founde thatt will studye your Ma^{ty} profit more then his owne, I hope your Ma^{ty} maye finde such a one butt never anye kinge or Queen did thatt Ever I harde off thatt profitable place Is A greate temptation to honestye, & as the Earle off Strafforde tolde mee, thatt iff the Lord Tresorer woulde stretch his Contience thatt hee mighte gett the Divell & all,—& I never harde off anye Lorde Tresorers Contience butt was off Stretchinge Leather,—your Lorde Tresorer maye tell your Ma^{ty} thatt the times beinge so nesesitus, thatt the place Is worth little or nothings In which hee doth falselye with your Ma^{ty} for the more nesesitus the times are the Greater profit to the Tresorer, As for Example putt the Case there is 40000^l owinge, & hee hath butt 20000^l to paye & those thatt are to bee payde knowinge this full well, for hee will tell them so,—whoe Is such a foole then thatt will nott give halfe to have halfe rather to have nothings, & hee thatt gives moste the Tresorers heertofore payde & the whole debtt acknoledgde by thatt man to bee payde—This Is butt one waye off Thousandes thatt the Tresorer hath to Inrich him selfe as to make newe bargins In the Coustum house, to advance your Ma^{ties} Reuenues some smale Inconsiderable thinge & fill his owne Purse, as also oute off your Ma^{ties} Landes, & wouds, & all forfeiture The truth Is iff the Tresorer bee nott an Intier honeste man, theye playe with your Ma^{ty} as In Ben Johnsons Alcumiste, The Tresorer Is Docter Subtle & his Chanselor Captain Face,—Then hee hath Newyeare giftes to boote which Is no smale thinge, I have harde thatt when the Earle off Dorsett Died thatt was Tresorer, thatt gott Extreamleye & then the Earle off Salsburye was made Tresorer, & when kinge James had made him, after his humble thanks for the favor hee tolde the kinge thatt hee woulde nott Sitt all newyeares daye to receve Newyeare Giftts hee woulde promise him thatt, &

hee kepte his promise, for hee alwayes apoynted 3 : or 4 : dayes after to receve them,—The Lorde S^t Albones beinge tolde thatt His place was a vaste place off Gayne hee tolde them verye modestlye thatt trewlye his Newyeares giftts weare good hee woulde nott cale them Bribes, the Lorde keeper Is a vaste place Indeed for all the kingdome Comes Into his handes to bee used as hee pleases,—For when Hatton was Chanselor beinge no greate Laweyear, hee had one Docter Duck thatt stode alwayes by him to helpe him, and the Counsell pleaded so Exselentlye on both Sides, as verye muche troubled the Chanselor howe to make a Decree,—so the Chanselor tolde Doctor Duck Itt was a verye difficulte busines to judge, the Docter anserde very Easelye my Lorde, Sayes my Lorde howe Is Itt Easelye,—marry sayes the Docter because Itt Is as please your Lo^{ps}—Ande Itt Is trewe Everye thinge Is as Itt pleases his Lo^{ps} & then I doe nott knowe howe his Lo^{ps} shoulde bee displeased, duringe the holdinge off thatt place,—Pardons will bee a vaste Sum to him & so to the Atturney.—Nowe For the Ducheye thatt Courte was Erected for Lankester In John off Ganta time I take Itt, & though those landes are returnde to the Crowne yett the Courte still holdes.—For the Courte off wardes thatt Courte Is a greate revenewe to your Ma^{ties} iff Itt bee well handled,—So I shall onlye humbly advice nott to lessen your Ma^{ties} Revenewe att all, butt to have such Comiseration off your poore Subiects thatt wardes maye nott bee baughte & solde like Horses In Smithfeilde, all their woodes Cutt doune, their Estates Ruinde & your Ma^{ties} nott the better, therfore iff ther might bee such a Course taken, thatt your Ma^{ties} have the benefitt & the warde & hee nott Ruinde, for manye houses have been utterlye loste & undon by wardshipps, This Care would becume your Ma^{ties} Gratiu favor to your Subiects wher theye woulde alwayes praye for, & bless your Ma^{ties} for Itt, what vaste Estates hath Lo : Keeper, Lr : Tresorers & masters off the wardes Gott. olde Burglye raysed to Earles & a Viscounte off Greate & vaste Estates, besides manye more off his fameleye both male and Female.—Nowe for the Starchamer, ther was greate Exseptions to thatt as an Arbetrarye Courte Tis trewe Itt hath nott been verye antiente, butt sertenlye the Intention & foundation off Itt ther Coulede nott posiblye bee a Better.—For before thatt Courte was erected, whatt disorders, whatt Riotts was Comitted dayleye Even to disorder the Judges of Asises wher theye satt with munmoth Capps, Baskett hilte Sordes, & Blewe Cotes take the parte off their masters, when their masters had anye difference one with an other.

Ande after the Starr Chamber was Erected, so much peace & quiettnes to your Ma^{ties} people, as anye man might have Ridd with a Ridinge Rodd all thorowe your kingdome withoute anye trouble or molestation to him

so little use ther was off a Sorde, & all thatt quiett & tranquiletye by thatt Exselente Courte off Starr Chamber,—Tis trewe ther maye [be] an abuse off anye thinge & so off that Courte butt because ther was an abuse therfore shoulde thatt courte bee taken awaye God for-bid, the Abuses shoulde bee rectefied & the Courte remayne, by thatt rule because ther Is often & to often an Abuse off Holye writt shoulde the Bible bee taken awaye no sertenlye butt the Abuses mended,—Ande Everye thinge shoulde nott bee braughte In to the Star-Chamber, butt onlye those Causes that are proper for Itt—neyther shoulde theye Strive to make your Ma^{ty} a Revenewe oute off the Sins off the People, thatt was nott the Intention off Erectinge thatt Courte, the Peace off the kingdome Is your Ma^{ty} cheefe Ende, & for the fines God knowes theye add litle to your Ma^{ty} revenewes, butt comonlye Sum Courtier or other begges them & your Ma^{ty} hath litle or nothings Butt theye thatt finde falte with this Courte & all Arbitrarye Courtts Is because the Lawe-yeares woulde have all thinges reduste to the Common Lawe, so thatt theye mighte have more Corne to Coume to their mill—& those thatt speakes moste agaynste Itt whatt doe theye when these Courtts are downe butt to Erecte severall Comittieyes to stande In steade off Itt which Is ten times worse, the same thinge butt worse, with a newe Name,—Therefore this Courte off Star-Chamber Is Exselente—They will Saye Indeede whoe-soever Coumes ther, iff hee scape a broken pate hee Is shure to have a Scratchte face, butt one shoulde aske him whye hee coumes Ther, Then ther Is your Ma^{ty} Presedentts, both off wales & off the North, which are both moste Exselente Courtes, beinge much for your Ma^{ty} Honor & Saftye for quietinge off your People, & a greate Ease unto your People lett them saye what theye will, for poore men are able to goe to Ludloe or or yorke, when theye are nott able to goe to London, as the Phrase Is I will make you water your Horse att Hye-Gate by my Fayth that goes harde with poore men,—Sum Sayes Lawyeares are agaynste both these Courtts & oute off the same former reasons I tolde your Ma^{ty}

I had forgott two thinges thatt your Ma^{ty} will bee pleased to have a Care off & Itt Is In the Lorde keepers office The firste Is whatt church Livinges so Ever ther Is under 20^s In the kinges Bookes all those I saye are In the Lorde keepers Gifte The Nexte Is hee hath the makinge off all the Justices off Peace In Englande,—For the firste which Is the gifte off those Ecclesiasticall livinges iff hee doe nott dispose them to worthye & orthodoxe Preachers, theye maye doe your Ma^{ty} much misheefe by abusinge your People the Seconde Is iff hee doe nott make such Gentle-men Justices off the Peace, as are verye loyall understandinge men, & well sett for your Ma^{ty} Governente theye maye doe more hurte then the ministers,—

I Speake off Itt to your Ma^{tie} knowinge thatt these two weare verye Greate Causes off the Late distempers,—Nowe for the Judges & all places off Judicature whatsoever, I knowe your Ma^{ties} wisdome Such as you will chuse the ableste sufficienteste & Honesteste men,—Ande nott to followe the fation off France to sell places off Judicature For hee thatt Byes, will & muste Sell, & ther coumes In moste horid Corruption, I knowe your Ma^{tie} will nott Sell them, butt those thatt are neer you, will have a feelinge off Itt, Itt shoulde bee lookte to,—for the moste parte theye thatt speake verye Earnestlye for such a man or so, hee maye bee suspected to have somethinge or a large promise, for comonlye Courtiers are nott so good Naturde, & so Erneste for nothinge, butt onlye for your Ma^{ties} service I doubt thatt.—These Judges then when theye are returned frome their Severall Sircutts aughte to give your Ma^{tie} A juste ackounte off all the severall Counties thaye have been In the dispoition off the People off greater or less Condition, whoe rules In Everye Countye moste & hath moste power, & whoe able to serve your Ma^{tie} best, whoe loyall, & whoe muteners, as also the Riches off the Countye, and whatt trade & howe Itt Rises so off the Corporations, and principall-Townes & howe theye are sett to Loyaltye,—So your Ma^{tie} will knowe beste howe to Governe by Implayenge those that are the fitteste to serve you,—Correctinge justlye the Bill thatt Is given your Ma^{tie} for the prickinge off Shreeves which office Is off Greate power.—These Judges maye bee partiall & give your Ma^{tie} false Intellegence In some perticuler butt In the Generall sertenlye Itt will holde good, but ther Is nothinge can meet with Everye thinge butt the beste that can bee don, thatt your Ma^{tie} maye bee deseved the leaste—A harde harted Judge to sitt on life & Death for murderers Robbers & petye theeves Is the beste for I have harde off two Judges, one was mercefull, & the other justlye to Exsecute the Lawes,—Att the firste the Severe Judge condemnde manye, reprivinge none, and ther weare manye fewer Hangde In the mercifull Judges Sircuitt, butt within two Asises the Stricte Judge had nott one hangde for the theeves ran all Into the mercifull Judges Sircuitt, So the stricte Judge proved the more mercefull att Length—when the mercefull Judge was hanginge his dosen Everye Sises—So that I have harde thatt all the People prayde for the Stricte Judge when theye Curste the mercifull ones—Judges shoulde never goe anye Circuitt In their owne Countrey for feare off Partialetye, butt I thinke ther Is a Lawe agaynste Itt,—one thinge I humblye offer to your Ma^{tie} which Is often a ruin to manye famelyes,—& thatt Is those thatt are made Shreeves are att such huge & vaste Expences, with abundance off Servantts, with Rich Clokes, Sutes, & fethers, & Trumpeters, with greate feastinge off the Judges & the

Counselors att Lawe as theye doe nott recover Itt In manye yeares, iff nott Ruinde both theye & their childeren with Itt,—Ande no advantage to your Ma^{tie} In the worlde—Some saye the Judges woulde looke awrye off them iff theye did nott so, onlye for their Glorye & pompe, Butt wertenlye the Judges are both wiser and more Ho^{ble} Persons, therefore your Ma^{tie} shoulde doe a moste Gratius worke In publishinge your Royall will & pleasure In Everye Countie for the moderation off The Shreves Expences, to shewe your greate care off your Genterye to Ease them all the wayes thatt possiblye you Coulede which woulde Infenitlye please them,—Ther was one Shreeve I have harde off thatt mett the Judges onlye with his clerke with a pen & Inkehorne att his Girdle & tolde the Judges thatt the office off the hye Sheriff was to see the Judges safley Conducted Into the Countye, & safley oute off the Countye & iff hee did nott performe that, with his Clerkes pen & Inkehorne then lett him bee blamed for by his fayth hee sayed hee woulde nott undoe him selfe his wife & childeren, for the Glorye off the Shreeve, or for the Pompe off the Judges, & In my opinion hee both sayde & did verye wisleye.

Nowe some sayes thatt your Ma^{tie} aughte nott to Sitt In anye Courte off Justice which Is verye rediculous & false For your Ma^{tie} Is the prime and greate Judge & makes all the others under you, as all writts Is In your Ma^{ties} name, & manye kinges uppon severall ocations, have sitt In all the Courts In westminster Hall,—though I Shoulde nott advise your Ma^{tie} to doe Itt often, for no Judge butt displeaseth halfe that comes before him, lett him bee never so juste mens partialeties to them selves are so Greate iff theye have the worste, butt theye will mutter,—Therefore your Ma^{ties} wisdoume I knowe will Shun thatt, & putt the displeasinge parte still upon your Servantts, & keepe the pleasinge & mercefull parte still for your Ma^{tie} to doe, which will Infinitlye please your People with a dewtifull affection & love to you,—Butt iff you doe sitt In anye Courte onlye to Exsamin the aparente Coruption off some Judges & putt them oute, which acte will gayne your Ma^{tie} much love,—Ther Is one thinge thatt hath been a greate mistake In the Genterye, & thatt was with their litle tinsell Pride thatt theye scornde to bee off Juries butt to bee a Justice off the Peace, or a Debutye Leuftenant, with a Hauke & a Hounde & then all was well nott seeinge by this meanes the loste the power off the kingdome, & putt Into the handes off the Coihons which hath been our Banc, for heertofoe the beste knights & Gentlemen In the Counties used to bee off Juries,—Ande whatt Is the power off a Juerye Itt Is this,—Theye have power over all mens personall Estates, Landes, & Livves Exepte the lives off Lordes butt for their Estates theye have,—

& all this Is putt In to the handes off the Comons by the pride off the Genterye, Itt weare well iff Itt Coude bee recoverde In to the handes off the Genterye agen, which your Ma^{tie} maye doe by Comandinge the Judges to see Itt Exsecuted,—which will bee a greate advantage to your Ma^{tie} for ther Is no Gentleman, butt hath a nerer dependance off your Ma^{tie} then the free-holders have & so more att your Comande.—Now your Ma^{tie} knowes ther Is Distributive Justice, & Comutative Justice, Distributive Justice Is onlye In your Ma^{tie} to rewarde those thatt have deservde beste, both for their Loyaltie fideletye, Service, & Sufferinges which your Ma^{tie} Is beste Judge off & onlye Judge. For Comutative Justice thatt Is onlye betwixte partye & partye, wher your Ma^{tie} I am shure will see Justice & right don unto your Subjects withoute hinderinge the prosedinges off ordinarye Justice, by messages to anye Judge By the Intercession. . . . [Erasure in MS.]

Nowe your Ma^{tie} will give mee leave to Ende with whatt I did begin withall,—& thatt Is howe to deminishe the Superflutye off those thatt belonge to the Lawe,—As the Phetitions saye take awaye the Cause, & the Effects will followe,—So take such a Course as to deminishe Sutes, & ther will bee fewer Laweyeaes, Ande I knowe off nothinge better, then this thatt followes.

To have a Register Generall In Everye Countye, for the Enterye off all Deedes & Convayances, off Lande, between partye & Partye, An Office off Recorde—

The Benefitt Is This.

Thatt whoesoever Getts or Byes, by this meanes hee shall see clerlye, what Intereste, & title, Is In anye Lande hee shall purchase; wherby hee Shall bee assurde that the Sale made to him Is good.—Ande therbye will avoyde all future sutes touchinge the title off his purchase, & so bee a greate Ease to the Subiecte, by avoydinge a multeplisetye off Sutes.

Itt will bee harde to confirme this by an Acte off Parlamente, because ther are still so manye Laweyears off the house off Comons, which will opose Itt, because Itt hinders the multeplisetye off Sutes, which Is their Gayne.

This woulde bee a greate Ease to the Subiecte, & add somethinge to your Ma^{ties} Revenewe to,

Then the Limitation off a twelve-month, frome the begynninge off the Sute, the Sute to bee harde & determinde, which woulde bee a greate Ease to the Subiecte—which the Lawe—years will opose to for their Gayne.

A Reasonable Consideration to bee had off all fees to officers, & Laweyeaes, which woulde verye much Ease the Subiecte sertenlye, the Lawe-years will opose this to.

Nowe some thatt woulde playe the Polititian will tell your Ma^{ty} thatt the more your People are troubled aboute their private & perticuler affayres the Less theye will thinke off Rebellion or mutenies, which Is verye false,—for Itt teaches them to muteneye & to wrangle,—besides wher or when was ther more Letigious Sutes then before these late unhapye times, & sertenlye Itt taughte them beinge so full off the Lawe to dispute Everye thinge, Even the kinges Prerogative, Butt your Ma^{ty} wiadounne, will nott bee abusee by a Logitian & an orator thatt forses Arguments to mentayne falshoodes.—Ande thus much for the Lawe.

FOR THE SIVELL LAWE

The Arches & Docters Comons, Is properlye Concerninge wills, mariges, furnecation & Adulterye, & manye suchlike thinges, The Coruption hath been Greate In this Courte, thatt both have been Condemnde for Itt, & might have been, & have growne to greate Riches.—Therfore I Shoulde humblye advise your Ma^{ty} to have the Arch-Bishopp off Canterburys & Bishopp off London to bee off the hye Comition, as I thinke formerlye theye weare,—& so some other Lordes off your Ma^{ty} Priveye Counsell, as I am shure the Earle off Dorsett was one, whoe was a verye stricte Person agaynste all Incontinenceye,—These woulde keepe thatt Courte In some Reasonable order for Itt Is an Exselente Courte iff Itt bee nott abused & goe to hye which the Ecclesiasticks will strive to make, when this Courte was putt doune, theye weare forste to make Comiteyes In the place off Itt, which was much worse, The truth Is this courte Is nott so much the Sivell Lawe, as the Canon Lawe which was the Popes Lawe,—your Ma^{ty} Courte off Admiraltye Is more the Sivell Lawe,—& a greate advantage to your Ma^{ty} In time off warr, & no smale profitt to your Ma^{ty} Admirall, Indeed one off the Greateste places thatt Is, nowe when your Ma^{ty} sees whatt greate profitable offices ther Are I shoulde wishe as one did in Henerye the Eyghte time, the kinge beinge poore, though hee had more Riches lefte him then Ever anye kinge off Englande had,—So hee wishte thatt the kinge had a good offise & then hee woulde bee Rich.

Ile onlye tell your Ma^{ty} what Tobye Mathewe the Arch-Bishopp off yourke Sayde, which was this, Sayes his Grace ther was one sayde, Thatt ther weare none less Pius, then Devines; none less juste then Lawe-yeares:—None less chaste the Seuilians;—Ande none less temperate Then Phititians, Butt sayes his Grace hee was a knave thatt sayde So—Butt

trewlye iff for the moste parte iff Itt bee so, the olde Proverbe Is veriefied In them, which Is, Thatt familiaretye breedes Contemte.

Your Ma^{tie} hath greate Advantage In your Governente In havinge the Church off Englande wholye to depende uppon you, beinge both kinge, & Pope, nexte & Imediatlye after Christe Supreame heade & Governor,

The like advantage your Ma^{tie} hath In havinge the whole Lawe to depende uppon you both Sivell & Coñon, yett these two shoulde bee kepte within the modeste boundes off their owne Sircles, & nott to swell beyonde them for theye prove diseases then & nott health for Ma^{ties} Governente & the Coñon wealth,—Some will saye theye both strive for dominion & Governente, as your Ma^{tie} Is to doe nothinge agaynste the worde off God, which is verye trewe,—butt theye will Expounde Gods will to bee whatt Is beste for their advantage & then theye are kinges & Rule,—The Laweyearre sayes the kinge Is to bee obayde butt nott agaynste the Lawe, & the Laweyearre will Expounde the Lawe to their beste advantage to Rule,—& thus Robb your Ma^{tie} off your Subiects to bee their Subiectes, which two thinges have been greate causes both off makinge & Continuinge this late Rebellion, butt yett I muste tell your Ma^{tie} thatt the Church off Englande was Inosente In this & did all theye coulede to serve you,—Butt the Puretans, & Sismaticks, did fomente the Rebellion, by their Preachinge off Itt perpetualye to the People—For the Laweyearre lett him anser for him Selfe.

Butt Itt Is verye trewe, thatt the Lawe and the Gospell beinge kepte within their owne modeste Circles and boundes, both dependinge uppon your Ma^{tie} as theye aughte, I saye the Lawe, & Gospell bounde upp under your Ma^{ties} Prerogative, Is a greate advantage to your Ma^{ties} Governente, In makinge the Subiecte moste hapye under your Crowne, & Septer,—Butt this will nott, nor can nott Conferme your Ma^{tie} In a Settled Throwne withoute your Power, which Is Armes, For Itt Is nott Devines prechinge Hell & damnation or Excomunecation, thatt can keepe a companye off Rude People frome throinge him oute off the Pulpitt, For withoute the power off Armes The prentises off a Shrove-Tusdaye, woulde teare the Bishoppes moste Reverente Lawne sleeves frome his Armes, & Cutt his throte to boote,—Neyther Is Itt a writt with a litle yallowe wax thatt can secuer the Laweyearre, or the Judges Scarlett Gowne his tipp staff mase, or Crier, no S^r Itt Is Armes, which Is your juste power, thatt keepes peace In the Church, & Justice In the Lawe, & butt for thatt power your Ma^{tie} mighte bee driven frome white-Hall,—Tis nott Logick, & oratorye serves the Turnes agaynste multitudes, wittnes this late Horide Rebellion, which theye Coulede never doe untill theye Gott the Armes Into their handes. Ande I knowe your Ma^{tie} Is to wise to bee perswaded to the Contrarye by Goune

men, whose perpetuall Ambition Is to Gouverne & theye are so afrayde off Armes thatt mentayns their vocations as theye woulde rather venter another Rebellion then to have them—I wonder whatt all the Lerninge off the Universties did or doe agaynste the Redd Cotes,—whatt did all the Sages off the Lawe doe agaynste the Redd Cotes, whatt doth the Historye off Pompe & Cesar doe anye good agaynste Cromwell, or anye recorde frome Williame the Conqueror doe agaynste Cromwell no *S^r* your power Is nohinge butt armes for withoute them nothinge will bee obeyde butt att their pleasure & therfore looke to the foundation which Is thatt to Establishe your Ma^{ty} safe In your throwne your Subjects In their juste rightts, the church In peace & the Lawe to bee free thatt the Judges maye administer Justice, & the whole peace off the kingdome, never to feare by this meanes a Civell warr, butt thatt Everye man thus will praye for your Ma^{ty} & bless your hapye Governente, Since Everye Subiecte thus maye Sitt safe under his owne vine, & nott feare the distruction off the whole kingdome by a Sivell warr.

FOR TRADE

Your Ma^{ty} will bee pleased to Consider, thatt Trade Is an other busines then the church, or the Lawe,—for those two laste robbs the Hive off the Common wealth off their Honye, butt bringes none to the Hive.—No *S^r* Itt Is the merchante thatt onely bringes Honye to the Hive,—Itt Is hee onely thatt Inriches kingdomes by Trade, & Espetialye your Ma^{ty} kingdome off Englande thatt Is ordaynde for Itt; Itt Is not an Ill winter thatt the countrie man Complayne on thatt makes Scarsetye off moneye butt the decaye off Trade,—For Itt Is a serteayne Rule thatt never fayles, when Everye thinge Is cheape, ther Is a Scarsetye off moneye—for Example Imagin all the common wealth In 4: or 5: persons, & theye to have butt five pounde a peece,—& a sixte person Is to sell them a Horse & thatt sixte person Is necessitated to sell him—whye then hee muste sell him for five pounde for no more hath anye more to give, & hee Can have no more then ther Is, butt putt the Case these 5: persons had a 100^l a peece,—whye then this sixth man thatt Is to sell his Horse maye have a 100^l for him, because those 5: persons hath a 100^l a peece & maye give Itt, thus your Ma^{ty} sees thatt plentye off moneye makes Everye thinge deer, & Scarsetye off moneye off necessetye muste make Everye thinge cheape, therfore your Ma^{ty} will bee pleased to keepe upp the merchante, thatt can onely fill your kingdome with Riches, & so consequentiye Inrich your Ma^{ty} for if your kingdome bee poore wher can your Ma^{ty} have Itt, no wher therfor

your Ma^{tie} will bee pleased to Inrich your kingdome that neyther your Ma^{tie} nor your Subiectes maye wante, & thatt Is don absolutlye by the merchante, & onlye by the merchante, which to boote Increases abundantlye your Shippinge & so Consequentlye mariners, which Is the greatest advantage your Ma^{tie} Can have, both to make you Rich, & powerfull att home, & a Terror to all your Greate Neyghbors for Itt Is the Sea thatt terefies & masters the Lande,—& makes greate kinges iff nott your Subiects, yett subiecte to you, & muste Subjecte them selves unto your will,—Therfor your Ma^{tie} will bee pleased to keepe upp the merchante as hye as possiblye you can, so your Ma^{tie} bee master off him, thatt Is to bee master off London & the River, & then no bodye can bee to Rich, butt Itt will bee founde a greate benefitt both to your Ma^{tie} and the Comon wealth. Trade muste bee considerde, thatt the merchante maye Exporte, more than Importe, that hee Carrye oute more Comodeties then hee bringes In, thatt Is thatt hee sells more then hee byes, & then Itt Is moste serteayne thatt the kingdome muste bee full off moneye, the Staple Comodeties off the kingdome, as Leade, Iron, Tin, Cloth & manye more Comodeties off Greate Valewe;—Itt Is trade & Traffick thatt fills the kingdome with moneye,—Itt Is nott settinge hyer valewes uppon moneye thatt doth anye good, or debasinge off Itt, those are butt Shiftes for presente Turnes & doth much hurte afterwarde, besides the Discreditt off Itt,—& none butt poore & nesasetated Princes will doe Itt,—& wise Princes will never doe Itt, because theye will never bee Poore,—& putt the Case a twentye Shillinges peece weare raysde to 30^s & an other forrayne prince will rayse Itt to 40^s & so vie Itt & See Itt Eternalye whatts gott by this no tis Trade thatt bringes In Golde & Silver, for lett a forren Prince make a twentye Shillinges Peece, five pounce, keepe upp the merchante & I dare undertake the Golde & Silver shall followe the Trade In to Englande therfore thatt Is the busines, & the mayne busines to keepe upp Trade which Is the merchante, The more merchandise doth Increase, the more Is your Ma^{ties} Coustums, which none gruges att butt moste willinge to paye them,—beinge so well orderde as nott to pull doune trade, butt kepte In thatt measure as to Increase Trade & fill your Ma^{ties} Cofers,—But trewlye I have harde thatt ther hath been greate abuse, by the Farmers off the Coustumhouse, some gettinge 20.000^l a yeare, some 25000^l & som 22.000^l att the Leaste & livde like Emperors, when the kinge was forste Continualye to Borowe,—This shoulde bee diligentlye lookte unto,—for Itt Consernes your Ma^{tie} verye much,—Ther Is none repines att your Ma^{ties} Coustoms, butt att monopoles Extreameleye, & theye have greate reson as the moste destructive thinge to the Comon wealth In the worlde & ther Is none hath more reson to complayne off Itt

then your Ma^{ty} for little comes to your share S^r butt to private Purse, & so your Ma^{ty} more Coosende then the Comon wealth,—& to abolishe all those monopoles, Even by proclamation would Crye your Ma^{ty} upp a Father off the Comon wealth, withoute much loss to your Ma^{ty} butt greates Gayne In the Ende, for Sertenlye the Subiecte would bee so well pleased with Itt, as uppon anye ocation thaye would offer upp their purses to your Ma^{ty}.—I have harde much discourse off free trade whatt greates advantage thatt would bee to the Comon wealth, I have harde much off this discourse both in Parlamente & oute off Parlamente disputed hottleye, both pro, & Con, & by merchantts, thatt Is London merchants, & merchants off other porte Townes thinkinge London devored the trade off all other Townes,—Butt I coulde never heer Itt well resolvde I am shure never settled Naye the merchantes oposers to London saye thatt their Companies are monopolies agaynste free trade,—as the Turkeye Companye, the Hamborowe Companye, & the Easte India Companye,—I am nott so well reade In trade as to determine the poynte butt Indeede for the Easte India Companye ther maye bee somethinge sayde unto Thatt, for theye saye theye Carrye manye hundereth thousande poundes In spetie In silver oute off the kingdome thatt Sholde bee lookte to Indeed,—Butt I knowe nott what theye can saye for themselves, I have harde when Itt was quostonde theye used stronge argumentts off the Purse to Greates persons to Continue their Trade;—Butt sayes some howe shall the kinge keepe upp the merchante marye as his Ma^{ty}s Coustomes are Gentle Itt Incourages to trade, for iff Itt weare otherwise the merchants would leave tradinge when theye sawe theye coulde nott gayne by Itt & then the Coustomes would bee nothings,—butt this Is nott all,—your Ma^{ty} to supporte them agaynste anye Prince In the worlde that durste offer them Iniuries as when their goods are taken or seased on anye wayes, your Ma^{ty} eyther to take or give them leave to take twice as much off theirs & then dispute Itt, butt I doe nott love a disputation with the losse, threaten a warr to your Neyghbors iff theye doe nott doe your Subiects right; give letters off marte & all the wayes to supporte the merchante thatt possiblye your Ma^{ty} Can, & your Ma^{ty} will finde both much Honor, & profit by Itt, for your Ma^{ty} needes feare neyther France or Spayne & to satisfye eyther off their Embassadors, thatt are butt Spies uppon your Ma^{ty} & your kingdomes to pleasure them agaynste your merchants I see No reason for Itt att all, butt iff theye take twice as much frome them & then dispute Itt, so to helpe your merchantes with your Ma^{ty}s shippes for Convoyes, & Gardes to them, your Ma^{ty} allwayes havinge Shippes for the Garde off your Costes, so doe Itt withoute anye charge to you, & this Is the protection &

keepinge upp off the merchante,—your Ma^{tie} will please to give mee leave to deliver my opinion which Is this that Itt Is Imposible for anye man to bee a good States-man thatt doth nott understande trade In some measure, which I will shewe your Ma^{tie} by whatt fell oute In Queen Elizabethes Rayne.—The kinge off Spayne, made greate preperations both by Seae, & Lande,—So that olde Burleye, Secretarye Walsingame, Lesester, & Earle off Sussex; which weare no fooles butt verye wise Counselors, concluded by all their Intelegence thatt this greate preperation off the kinge off Spaynes In all probabiletie was agaynste Englande, to doe nothinge theye mighte bee surprised, & to make a suffitiente resistance—woulde bee such a vaste charge heer Ma^{ties} Covers beinge nott full, as theye knewe nott howe to turne them selves or whatt to doe,—So att laste a greate & Rich Citizen off London one S^r Thomas Gressham, a Famous person for buldinge the olde Exchange att London by the moddell off the Exchange att Antwerpe, besides hee bulte Gressham Coledge & Indowed Itt with good renewse for manye usefull & Exselente Lectors,—This S^r Thomas Gressham heer-inge howe the Queen & her Counsel weare pusled aboute this greate afayre goes to the Courte & desierde thatt hee might wayte off her Ma^{tie} & such Counselors to bee by as shee pleased to make choyse off, and so shee did,—& ther S^r Thomas Gressham undertooke with a smale charge In comparison off a greate fleet, or a lande Armeeye to assure her Ma^{tie} thatt the kinge off Spayne shoulde doe her no hurte thatt yeare—the Queen askte him howe & hee tolde her Ma^{tie} thatt the kinge off Spayne Coulede nott doe Itt withoute moneye, & hee knewe the kinge off Spayne muste Borowe thatt moneye to off merchanttes, So thatt hee coulede prevente him, both att Antwerpe Genoa, Venise, & att Hamborowe, for Amsterdam was nothinge then,—thatt hee woulde take upp such greate Sums as the kinge off Spayne shoulde have no moneye and so stopp his designe, & Itt was butt payenge so much Interesse for a fewe monthes, which was an Inconsiderable Sum In comparison off a preperation Eyther by Sea or Lande, The Queen & her Counsell was overjoyed with the propotition gave him greate thanks Toke his Counsell & did absolutlye stopp the kinge off Spaynes signes thatt yeare thatt hee Coulede doe nothinge & so had roome to turne them with time for the nexte yeare,—Ande nowe your Ma^{tie} sees whatt advantage the understandinge off Trade Is for a States man.—one worde off Impotitions & monopolies,—Impotitions Coumes to your Ma^{ties} purse & hinders nott Trade or Trades men, butt theye are as theye weare before onlye payenge so much which uppon the poynte Everye Subiecte payes for Itt bienge the Comodetye so Itt lightes Generalye uppon the Subiecte & nott uppon the Trades-men because theye hoyse upp their Comodeties

ackordinglye Butt monopoles Is a moste horrible thinge both to your Ma^{ty} havinge butt a smale Sum God knowes & heer one perticular man Ingrosses all the trade off thatt comodetye to him selfe or his owne use nott sufferinge anye man to trade Exepte hee will Compounde with him & att his owne rates, & by thatt meanes manye a Trades man breakes & Is undun both hee his wife & childeren as theye did In the monopoleye off Sope, & manye others.—& all for some perticular men which your Ma^{ty} had much better thatt theye weare hangde then so manye famelies undun, & those thatt mentayne the kingdome then those thatt destroye Itt.—For Taxes, Even Parlamente Subsedies,* & fiveteens, are verye uniuslye layed as for Example the Subsedies In your Ma^{ty} Royall Ancesters times, weare as much agen then as theye are now, though moneye was Scarce then & plentifull now, for then as I take Itt, a Subsedye was a 120000 and now Itt Is but 60000 which is butt halfe, The reson Is, thatt the beste men In the Countie are still made Comitioners for the Subsedye, & though their Grande-Fathers payde 60^s theye paye nott 30^s the reson Is theye pull doune on another, since theye Can sease as theye please & layes Itt on the poorer Sorte, & so Itt coumes shorte halfe, so thatt when your Ma^{ty} thinkes you have a greate matter In so manye Subsedies you have nott halfe what your Royall predesors had,—A greate abuse & Coumes this waye, thatt I tell your Ma^{ty} off, Indeed ther Is no taxe or sements that Is Equall,—neyther by the musterbooke or the Booke off Rates, Thatt which Is absolutlye the moste Equall Is the Exsise,—for ther no man payes for more then hee hath,—all the advantage Is thatt a Rich Curmougin thatt will almoste Starve him selfe, with rawe Porke & Candles Endes maye have advantage for the Purse though nott the Bellye, butt thatt can nott bee helpte butt howe a Parlamente will like off An Exsise I knowe nott,—This digression frome trade I aske pardon for though Itt Coumes nott Impertientlye In neyther.—For Corporations, I see no reson whye ther shoulde bee so manye for whye shoulde Tanners, & Shooe-makers nott bee contented to bee Governed by the same waye thatt Lordes Gentlemen, & good yeomen & free-holders are which Is by the knowne Lawes off the kingdome by the Judges & Justices off Peace,—Butt these Townsmen muste bee Exsented by their Charter the truth Is thatt Everye Corporation Is a pettye free state agaynste monarkeye, and theye have don your Ma^{ty} more mischeefe In these late disorders with their Lectorors, then anye thinge Else hath don therfore your Ma^{ty} will bee pleased to thinke off Itt for all their Charters are forfeited, Itt weare good to have some Considerable townes

* Subsedies uppon lande, fiveteens uppon goods, by the poll perticular persons.

thatt are bulte much uppon trade butt nott so manye,—Itt Is a mightie Riches thatt belongs to Corporated Tounes In lande thatt theye have baughte,—which some saye Is to no Purpose butt to make so manye Feastes & to bee drunke so manye times a yeaere, & spende so many Brase off Buckes, & thats all the good off Itt what soever theye pretende sayes some,—Butt Itt Is their owne, & theye maye use Itt as theye Please.

I shoulde humblye advise that your Ma^{tie} would be pleased to Increase manufacture all thatt posible coude bee all over your kingdome as makinge all severall maner off Stuffles as the Duch-men doe att Norwhich,—so silke stuffles Gloth off Golde, & Silver, as theye doe att Genoa, & Millan, Silke wormes Itt maye bee will finde Englande to Colde for them, but Itt weare well Itt shoulde bee tried, & mulberye trees sett for their foode butt iff this fayle Rawe silkes & to bee wraughte upp in Englande,—Makinge off Linen cloth, off all sorttes, as Hollandes demye Hollande Cambricks Lawne, & for which much fine flaxe Is to bee Soed,—so for all maner off fine thred lases, as flanders famous for Itt,*

Butt some maye saye this will hinder Trade what hindringe off trade doth Itt in Flanders & Brabante,—& Is Itt nott as good to gett' moneye for these Comodeties, as to give moneye for these Comodeties yes & much better sertenlye for one doth Inrich the kingdome the other doth Impoverish Itt,—Butt Iff Itt weare for nothings Else butt to sett your Subiectes a worke both male & female nott onlye to busie them, butt thatt by their labor theye mighte live, & manye growe Rich withoute beinge a burthen to the Comon wealth,—which will bee a mightye advantage both for your Ma^{ties} Govermente & for the Peace off the kingdome,—which otherwise by Povertye & Idlnes, mighte produce manye Inconvenienceies both to your Ma^{tie} & your kingdome. Because moste thinges in this worlde Is governde by the price off moneye, for when moneye was att ten In the hundereth, then lande was att fiveteen yeaeres purchase, when Itt came doune to eyght In the hundereth then lande was att twenty yeaeres purchase, nowe beinge att sixe In the hundereth lande Is att five an twenty yeaeres purchase—so iff your Ma^{tie} bringe Itt to eyght agen Itt Is a good proportion & will make forreners, Espetialye Hollanders wher moneys goes so lowe to bringe all their moneye for that profit In to Englande, & to fill your Ma^{ties} kingdome full off moneye, which lastlye theye have taken awaye beinge butt att sixe In the hundereth.

* Iper & Gaunte hath been famous above 300 yeaeres for chaser speakes off Itt.

FOR THE COUNTRYE

To bee Governed by Judges In all the severall Counties by the Assises twice a yeare Sheriff & good Justices off Peace att their quarter Sessions & those Justices to bee well chosen to bee Loyalye disposed, with their severall officers as cheefe Counstable, Pettie Counstable, Hedboroes & the Like—with Justices off the Coram, & Ratulorum butt the mayne busines Is a Trope off Horse In Everye Countie and some Dragoners In Everye Countie proportionable to the Countie more or lesse, & to bee removed to severall partts off the Countie as ocation serves, & the Dragoners when theye are nott Horste theye are musketers, & then I woulde have some off them Pike, to bee a garde for the Magessens In Everye Countie,—The troupers I woulde have Gentle-mens younger Sons so to tie their Fathers & Brothers more to your Ma^{ty} & one thinge I humblye desier your Ma^{ty} to take Care off, which Is never to lett the cuntrye paye the Soldier butt onely your Ma^{ty} your selfe for the Soldier will followe the moneye, & God forbid the Soldier Shoulde have anye dependance In the worlde butt uppon your Ma^{ty} for otherwise Itt woulde bee a verye dangerous busines since force doth all therfore Itt Is the greateste Conserne your Ma^{ty} Can have to Look to,—what soever theye woulde give to paye the Soldier, lett them give Itt your Ma^{ty} & your Ma^{ty} to paye them by Such officers as your Ma^{ty} shall apoynte—no Lorde Leutenante or trayne bandes to depende on the People butt a Lorde Governor off the province of your Ma^{ty} Troopes, The Rebells understandes this to well, & hath don Itt to your Handes. Ther Is one thinge that Is a greate trouble to the kingdome and Is little lookte after, & that Is sturdye vaguernte Roges thatt are beggars throuthe the kingdome Itt shoulde bee lookte unto carefullye, Ther are Exselente Lawes for Itt, butt theye are never putt In Execution, & then Itt weare, as good to have none, the corection houses weare off good use if they weare used as theye Shoulde bee, In the states dominions theye are verye diligente In this poynte, havinge nott a Begger off their owne cuntrye thatt begges butt Is provided for by his owne labor.—as iff hee bee lame off his feet theye make him worke with his handes, iff Lame off his handes theye make him worke with his feet naye theye make blinde People turne wheeles In severall trades to gett their livinges, & the Parishes provides for none but olde decrepitt People butt whatt Is this to stoute & sturdye Roges thatt maye worke & will nott, & doth a worlde off mischeefe, these Shoulde bee lookte to,—Judge Denham thatt was a wise & a verye honeste Gentle-man coumplaynde Exsedinglye off those stoute Roges, - Ther Is also Companies off Gipseyes

that Shoulde bee distroyde for theye are all Theeves, To bee a Gibseye Is felloneye by the Statute Lawe, butt thatt Lawe Is never putt In Exsecution so thatt the kingdome Is full off them,—For drounde Landes to bee drande Is a greate advantage to the comon wealth, which the Duch-men did well In,—for before wher ther was nothinge butt a middeye pike or a Duck nowe ther are abundance off good sheepe & fatt oxen, greate store off Corne off all kindes wadd & Rape seed which are off Greate use & profit, wadd for dienge, & Rape Seed for oyle, for leather & such thinges, therfore your Ma^{tie} will Incourage the drayners all thatt maye bee,—the countrie man will Complayne off Anye thinge thatts newe, & so the Parlemente to please the People was agaynste Itt, butt nowe theye have putt Itt upp agen,—This distructive no Govermente hath don nothinge but mischivouslye to pull downe butt theye have bulde nothinge so theye have distroyed the woods off Englande Extreameleye which Is an Intolerable loss since theye are nott to bee repayred In manye Ages butt I thinke your Ma^{tie} mighte doe verye well to give order for the soinge off Acrons, & affter have them planted In severall places, as theye doe In braban & flanders, which will bee a greate benefitt to after Ages, & A fine shade In a fewe yeares.—Though an oke bee longe before hee coumes to his perfection,—for Shippinge or buldinge—Butt as I take Itt ther Is an Exselente lawe for that purpose which iff Itt bee putt In Exsecution all posteretye will thanke your Ma^{tie} for Itt,—I Shoulde humblye advice your Ma^{tie} to disaforeste all your forrestes chases & Parkes thatt are remote from you, & so off little Use & less profit,—Ther woulde bee much to your Ma^{ties} Covers, firste by the Sale off woods, nexte for a compositiion with all foresters for their owne,—Eyther by fine or Rente,—& then by the Sale off your Ma^{ties} owne lande—& nowe you have nothinge butt a Companye of Idle keepers verderers, woodwordes, stuartes & manye other offisers thatt doth nothinge butt Coosen your Ma^{tie} In Everye thinge off Everye thinge—The benefitt for the Comon wealth Is greate ferste to bee free of the foreste Lawes which are verye punishable the nexte theye will bulde vilages & Increase those thatt are, & have abundance off good Corne, wher ther was nothinge butt heath befor,—& wher anye man kepte a Draughte before hee will nowe bee able to keepe two or three,—& wher ther are hunderethes off Beggars nowe thatt lives off nothinge butt gettinge & Sellinge off Bilberies, a verye poore trade which Continewes them Beggars still—when the Forreste Is disaforested, the Tillege will bee so greate, as Itt will sett all the beggars a worke male & female, for Corne hath alwayes somethinge to bee don aboute Itt, Even frome the Sowinge to the reapinge so thatt trewlye within a while In thatt place ther will bee almoste no Beggars, In so good Estate

will theye bee. Ande thus your Ma^{tie} will gaine verye much by Itt, & your People to,—Iff theye talke off Increasinge off People, sertenlye Beggers Increase more then Rich folkes, Butt Shoulde theye a warr will Emtye them Eyther by lande or Seae,—or Else your Ma^{tie} may sende Collonies to the Bermoodes, Virginia, Barbadoes, Newe Englande and Newe Scottlande &c.

FOR SEREMONEYE, & ORDER

Seremoneye though Itt Is nothinge In Itt selfe yett Itt doth Everye thinge—For what Is a kinge more then a Subiecte butt for seremoneye & order when that fayles him hees Ruinde.—What Is the church withoute Seremoneye & order, when thatt fayles, the Church Is Ruinde,—What Is the Lawe withoute seremoneye & order, when thatt fayles the Lawe goes downe,—Whatt are the Universeties & all Scooles withoute seremoneye & order, nothinge, whatt are all Corporations withoute Seremoneye & order nothinge,—Whatt Is a Lorde more then a foot-man withoute seremoneye & order,—a dispiade Title,—Whatt Is Parentes & Childeren, masters & servants,—officers In all kindes in the Comon wealth, withoute Seremoneye & order nothinge att All, Naye what tIs an Armeys withoute seremoneye & order, & ther the stricteste Seremoneye & order for hee thatt Continewes longeste In order which Is In Bodies wines the Battle,—Whatt are all Counsells & States withoute seremoneye & order, nothinge butt Confution & Ruin—Soe thatt Seremoneye & order with force, Governes all both In Peace & warr, & keepe Everye man & Everye thinge within the Circle off their owne Conditions.—Naye verye Beare Batinge withoute seremoneye & order woulde bee In more Confution then Itt Is & manye Such like thinges,—Therefore your Ma^{tie} will bee pleased to keepe Itt upp strictlye In your owne person & Courte to bee a presedente to the reste off your Nobles, & nott to make your Selfe to cheape by to much familiaretye which as the Proverbs Sayes breedes Contemte,—Butt when you a Peer to Shewe your selfe Gloriuslye to your People Like a God, for the holye writt sayes wee have Calde you Godda,—Ande when the People Sees you thus theye will doune off their knees which Is worshipp & praye for you with tremblinge feare & love as theye did to Queen Elizebeth whose Governente Is the best Presedente for Englandes Governente absolutlye, onlye these Horide times muste make some litle Addition To sett thinges Strayght & so to keepe them,—Ande the Queen woulde Saye God bless you my good People & though this sayenge was no greate matter In Itt selfe yett I assure your Ma^{tie} Itt wente verye farr with the People,—naye off a Sundaye

when shee opende the windowe, the people woulde Crye oh Lorde I Sawe her hande I Sawe her hande Ande a woeman Cried oute Oh Lorde sayes shee the Queen Is a woeman,—Sertenlye ther Is nothings keepes upp a kinge more then Seremoneye & order which makes Distance, & those bringes respecte & dewtye, & those obedience which Is all,—Naye hee Is a foole thatt Is to bolde with your Ma^{tie} Even in your Bedd Chamber, & those thatt are so I knowe your Ma^{ties} wisdome will give them a check for Itt, & iff they doe nott mende putt them oute,—& your Ma^{tie} will finde much quiett & benefitt bye Itt,—Soe iff your Ma^{tie} please to speake to your Haraldes to sett doun the Seremoneye & order for all degrees off your Nobilitye As for Barrons, Viscounts, Earles, Marquises, & Dukes,—& to have Itt printed,—& so for all the Greate offisers their seremoneye & order.—& nott anye to Intrench one uppon an other, butt to keepe whatt Is onely righte & dewe for their plases, & digneties,—as one thinge none under the Degree off a Barones can have Carpetts bye her Bedd & shee butt one or two att the moste, & nowe Everye Turkeye merchantes wife will have all her floore over with Carpetts,—So nowe Everye Citizens wife will have sixe Horses In her Coch which Is moste unfittinge, theye saye the wayes are so foule when tis their Pride for I am shure when I was a Boye Gilberte the Greate Earle off Shrewsburye never wente butt with foure Horses In his Coch, & those off meaner degrees butt with two Horses, & travellde manye hundered miles, & the wayes as foule as theye are nowe The kinge off Spayne Allowes no Bodye Sixe Horses butt him Selfe, this your Ma^{tie} will rectefye verye Easeleye,—So to make no difference betweene Greate Ladyes, & Citizens wives In Aparell Is Abhominable,—no theye shoulde goe to their litle black Velvett Capps, smale Golde cheanes & litle Ruffes, as theye weare In my Time, & their Aprentises In their rounde Black Capps,—Butt this muste take a litle time for feare off offendinge to faste until your Ma^{tie} bee well Setled In your Sadle—Ande when Anye off these orders are violated, to bee braughte Into the martialls Courte & ther punishte, which Courte though Itt was Spoken agaynste In Parlamente Is a moste Exselente Courte for Itt keepes upp Seremoneye & order, So The Courte bee kepte within his Boundes—For sertenlye degrees off Aparell to severall Conditions & Calinges Is off greate Consequence, to the Peace off the kingdome, for when lower degrees strives to oute brave hier degrees, Itt breedes Envie In the better sorte, & pride In the meaner sorte, & a contemte bye the fulger off the Nobilitye,—which breedes faction & disorder, which are the Causes off a Sivell warr Therefore S^r keepes upp your Nobilitye, & Genterye to all their juste rightes & Digneties,—For whatt kepte upp your Royall Father So longe butt parte

off the Nobilitye & Gentrye, when hee had no moneye which was the Sinewes off warr, mentayninge them selves and his warr almoste att their owne Charge & helde oute beyonde all Expectation. Itt was neyther the Church nor the Lawe thatt kepte upp the kinge so longe, butt parte off the Nobilitye & Gentrye, therefore your Ma^{ties} wisdome will cherishe them,—'Tis trewe wise kinges heertofores tooke as much power frome the Nobilitye as theye Coude, because off the Barrons warra,—& putt more to the Comons, wherein theye Comitted a verye Greate Error, for the worste In the Nobilitye Is butt to pull downe one kinge & sett upp an other, So that theye are alwayes for monarkeye butt the Comons pulls doune Roote & Branch, & utterlye distroyes monarkeye—So that your Ma^{ties} will bee pleased to stick to your Nobilitye & Gentrye, & theye will stick to you, beinge no Greate danger as longe as your Ma^{ties} hath the forse In your handes, beinge devided In to so manye handes off your Nobilitye which Is as manye Lordes as ther are Counties, which Is 58: & sertenlye all those are nott liklye to agree att one time agaynste you.—In my time Gilberte thatt Greate Earle off Shrewsburye whoe was a wise man & had a Gentle Sole & a Loyall, att a S^t Georges feaste, I have known S^r George Booth a Chesheer knight & off sixe or seaven thousande pounde a yeare weare my Lorde off Shrewsburies blewe Cote on a S^t Georges Daye,—as also S^r Vinsente Corbett whose Brother had 20.000^l a yeare & after the death off his Brother hee had 4^l: or 5000^l a yeare & hee wore my Lord blewe Cote off a S^t Georges daye also,—butt the nexte daye theye satt both att my Lordes Table nexte him & nothings butt Good Coosen Corbett, & good Coosen Booth & theye weare verye wise In Itt, for thus theye did oblige my Lorde to bee their Servante all the yeare after, with his power to serve them both In Courte & westminster Hall, to bee their Solisiter,—& agen my Lorde had no busines In the Counterye butt theye did Itt for him, & then the kinge had an Easeye busines, for whatt soever busines his Ma^{ties} had In anye Countie In Englande, or In all Englande, Itt was butt speakinge to Shrewsburye or Darbye & such Greate men & Itt was don with Ease and fasiletye,—which a Lawyeare with a Comition woulde finde Rubbs In & putt your Ma^{ties} uppon Extremeties to discontente your People, and whatt doth Itt coste your Ma^{ties} a Blewe Riban, a Priveye Counselorship or such offices as your Ma^{ties} Can nott bestowe better then uppon such Greate men for the People doth nott Enveye Greate men as theye doe meaner men, & then all their kindered, freindes, dependantes, Servantts, Tenantes are well pleased, & your Ma^{ties} Safe,—Butt nowe the Pride off the times are such as iff verye meane men bee nott made off your Ma^{ties} Bedd-Chamber, theye presentlye Rebell, & growe dis-

contented, which Is such a Rediculous Pride when In my time I knewe William Earle off Pembroke thatt moste Exselente Person, labor as for his life all the Rayne off kinge James, as also the Rayne off kinge Charles to bee off the Bedchamber & Could never obtayne Itt,—as also Thomas the Greate Earle off Arundell did labor to bee off the Bedd-Chambe[r] both those Raynes & could never obtayne Itt,—Therfore these meane fellowes are brave presumtius creaturs thatt dares offer att Itt, & then bee disconted forsooth because theye are justlye Denied.—Itt was a Coñon thinge att Courte to have Ladies & Countesses to Laugh att Seremoneye & order, In Subiectes sayenge the kinge, & Queen Could have no more thinkinge thus to flatter Ma^{tye} & the other reson was because ther weare so manye Begerlye People made Greate Lordes & Ladies In Title thatt weare nott able to keepe upp the Dignetye off Itt, & so theye woulde Jeer all thatt theye Could nott doe, butt whatt became off Itt, when the seremoneye & order off Noble-men weare pulde doune, which Is the foundation off monarkeye,—monarkeye Soone affter fell,—For Itt Is a Rediculous thinge for anye to thinke so much Seremoneye takes off frome a kinge, butt addes much to him, for when a Noble-man hath so much seremoneye don unto him, whatt doth the People thinke the kinge Is when theye see this Noble man serve as Cupbearer off his knee, or Suer, or Carver uppon Greate dayes, or uppon anye daye to kiss his hande uppon his knee, or kneele to him whilste his Ma^{tye} Is Sittinge, Sertenlye S^r This addes much to you, & gives Magistye a greate luster, when hayle fellowe well mett takes much off, off your Ma^{tyes} Dignetye,—Therfore S^r keepe upp your Nobilitye for your owne Sake.—Ther was a pretye waye theye had att Courte, thatt meane People thatt weare aboute the kinge & the Queen woulde Jeer the greateste Noble man in Englande iff hee did nott make the laste monthes Reverence A La Mode thatt Came with the laste Danser frome Paris packte upp In his fidle Case, & no mañer off Regarde off the Nobilitye att All butt some fewe to monopolise the kinge & Queen Totalye to them selves, this did Infinitlye Discontente the Nobilitye & Genterye & one off the thinges thatt braughte these woefull times uppon Us to make much off meane men thatt had neyther partes or Power, & to neclecte those thatt had both partes & Power, those men to bee respected thatt could nott rayse a man butt onlye lived off the kinge & the other thatt lived off them selves & Could rayse thousandes to bee dispised because hee did nott make le Bon Reverance & could nott dance a Sereban with castenettes off their fingers, butt your Ma^{tyes} wisdoume will take an other Course & courte your Nobilitye & Genterye & discourse with them & Cale them to you & cherishe them for they deserve itt.

THE ERRORS OFF STATE, & THEIR REMEDIES

The Greateste Error In these laste two Raynes weare thatt the kinges alwayes wanted moneye which Is the Greateste Error a kinge Can make wether Itt weare profuases, In Giftes or In unesarye thinges as Pictures Juells or the Like, or Coosende, butt sertenlye wente In a kinge att Laste Coumes to Ruin,—for beinge nesasetated puttes him uppon manye Ilegall taxes which much offendes the People, & then the nexte Parlamente Is Inflamed, & the kinge forste to remedye them to give Contentmente to his People, & so goes less In his Subiectes opinions, & makes the verye Clownes see thatt a Parlamente Can order him, & so maye thinke thatt a Parlamente hath the Transendente power which Itt hath nott,—butt farr frome Itt,—Naye shoulde none off those taxes bee, butt thatt your Neseties did urge you to Cale a Parlamente,—that Parlamente woulde thinke theye had your Ma^{ty} on the Hipp and woulde playe uppon you ackordinglye, for theye woulde give you no moneye untill theye had whatt theye desierde & this can nott bee a free Parlamente for theye woulde bargin with you & playe uppon your Nesetye & have ten times the worth off whatt theye bye verye much to your preiudice Therefore as the olde Sayenge Is putt moneye In your Purse & keepe Itt,—Henerye the Seventh your Royall Ancestor was a wise kinge and hee did so, & woulde often saye thatt Englande was a good Farme if Itt weare well Husbanded, & his Ma^{ty} was the beste Husbande off Itt thatt Ever I harde off & therfore was nott putt to such plunges as nesasetated Princes are, ---A Sparinge Prince Is good for him selfe & his People, butt nott for Courtiers, which are butt a fewe In Comparison off the reste, when you are Rich your Greate Neyghbors will feare you to,—which iff you bee poore theye will nott care for you,—when you are Rich & cale a Parlamente your Ma^{ty} Is then master off the feilde & you maye doe whatt you please & then theye have no grounde to worke off agaynste you,—Oh Riches Sr In a kinge Is more advantages both att Home & a brode then I Can Express, Therefore S^r putt moneye In your Purse and bee Rich.

'Ther Is nothings better then to Gouverne by well Regulated Parlements,—Ande iff your Ma^{ty} bee nott Nesasetated butt Rich theye will bee Regular. Parlements shoulde bee kepte withthin their boundes which Everye Bodye knowes,— for your Ma^{ty} Gives life, or death to bills that pass both houses, for tis no Lawe withoute you S^r—& iff theye give you butt fewe Subædies, pass their reasonable Lawes, & give them their Subædies

agen with manye good wordes & thankes, as Queen Elizabeth did, for never anye had Parlaments att her will so much as Shee, because shee was nott nesetated, So I will ende with this agen bee Rich which Is a verye Easeye thinge for you, & your Ma^{tie} will finde the Greate Bennfitt, & Sweet off Itt.

The nexte Error was makinge so manye Lordes which made the upper house more factius then the Lower House naye the House off Comons had nott been factius butt for them, for as soone as Ever one Is made a Lorde, hee thinkes him selfe then capable off the Greateste place in Englande though moste unfitt, partialetye hath such forse & iff hee bee denied then hee groes factius & makes parties & joynes with the house off Comons, to tisturbe your Ma^{ties} Gouvernente,—Queen Elizabeth founde the sweet off a fewe Lordes I thinke shee made nott above three Earles all her time, Essex, Lincolne, & Nottingame, & verye fewe Barrons,—Then the House was so Thin off Lordes, as olde Burleghie when hee stode upp to deliver a message frome the Queen, Everye Lorde stode upp with his modeste Contente & satt him downe agen, ther was no faction, ther was no Joyninge with the House off Comons In those dayes neyther the House off Comons anye faction In Itt, & all by the multeplisetye off Lordes thatt hath made this faction, & those factius a purpose to bee Lordes, Soe thatt the fewer Lordes the Less faction & Espetialye iff those Lordes bee nott nesetated So thatt your Ma^{tie} will bee pleased to bee sparinge In makinge Lordes for your owne Sake, butt lett them Dye oute & make fewe more, & those thatt are made to bee shure theye have meanes to Supporte Itt, or Else you rayse faction agaynste you, & Enveye In those thatt are nott made Lordes, thatt thinkes themselves As good men Everye waye. Naye some have been made Lordes theye saye thatt have nott above 300^l a yeare, which was a strange thinge,

An other Error was thatt factions att Courte weare nott Suppreste, For beleve mee S^r All the greate mischeefe In Parlaments Came oute off the kinges House for the weaker faction In Courte did strive alwayes to pull doune the Stronger by a Parlamente, wher theye did nott onely make their freindes & servantes off the house to doe whatt theye coulde to pack a Parlamente, butt also did poysen the Counterye Gentle-men with severall Stories agaynste your Greate officers & favoritts & did flatter & Insinuate butt to farr to abuse those Honeste Countrye Gentle-men, & when theye had served their Turnes off them then theye sente them home to hunte & Hauke agen,—This Is to greate a knowne truth,—& when theye weare mett, then theye had private meetings & continuall Intelegence frome these Courtiers frome time to time whatt to doe

Another Error to Suffer Parlametes to pull doune men att theyr pleasure and teare them frome your Sides wether you will or No, a thinge off moste dangerous Consequence to your Ma^{ty}—For when theye have founde the trick off Itt, theye will goe hier Even to the kinge as wee have founde by woefull Experience, when my Lord S^t Albanes, & Earle off Middlesexe weare prosecuted bye the Parlamete, I have harde thatt your Ma^{ty} Royall Father, & the late Duke off Buckingame desierde your Ma^{ty} Royall Grande-Father kinge James to Condesende to the Parlamete which muste bee the Ruin off those two Lordes, for Ragione del Stato,—& kinge James pulle oute his hankircher, & wepte & sayde I doe nott weepe for these two Lordes, butt for you towe for after theye are hartned or bloued with this, Buckingame you will bee the nexte, & then Charles will followe, & God knowes Itt was to trewe a Prophesye butt hee was a fore-seeing wise kinge.—Whatt a strange thinge was Itt off the Earle off Strafforde litle or nothings agaynste him & yett hee muste bee Exsecuted, Butt my Lorde off Canterburie nothings In the worlde agaynste him, yett hee muste Dye, & nothings so Horide or Insuferable as for a man to bee acused off Hye Treason as the Bishopp off Canterburie was, & Comitted, & nothings Coulede bee layde to his charge moste uniuste & agaynste the Petition off Right & libertye off the Subiecte,—But this was a Rebellius pacte Trayterlye Companye & nott a Parlamete, for a good Parlamete ther Is nothings better to Governe by Eyther for your Ma^{ty} or your People, & I hope to see the blessinge off you & Itt, & your Ma^{ty} the blessedste monarke that Ever was In our kingdomes. But iff the kinge had been Rich this had nott been, or fewer Lordes,—& for punishinge greate Persons by Parlametes your Ma^{ty} muste keepe thatt Prerogative to your selfe, & onlye to your selfe or Else Itt will bee much worse for your Ma^{ty} & Iff theye bee faltie to your Ma^{ty} or to the Conon wealth, doe punishe them & to the purpose butt keepe the power off punishmente onlye In your Selfe.

Ther maye bee good Lawes made butt moste thinkes ther are to manye alreedy for the Subiecte, for iff wee lived nott under a Gratius kinge, the Penall Statuts weare theye putt In Exsecution woulde undoe all your Subiectes, beinge trapps rather then helpe to them as manye wise men have thaughte.—Butt good kinges never takes advantage off them, which Is more their Gratius favor then our Fathers & our Considerations when wee made them,—Ande those proiecters thatt sholde propounde the advantage off them for Benefitt deserves to bee whipte through Everye Parishes In Englande,— & I knowe your Ma^{ty} wisdomes and goodnes will banishe them vour Courte,—For Itt Is good Parlametes thatt muste fill your Purse S^t when the other doth nothings butt offende your People.

Nowe S^r with your Ma^{ties} favor I will speake off the Greateste Error off State thatt Ever was Co^mmitted In these two laste Raynes,—Ande thatt Is theye Ever rewarded their Enemies, & neglected their freindes, thatt this Is an undinable truth So puplick to the vewe off all the worlde,—as some Devines have been Raysde for Itt though fewe butt A Bundance off Lawe-yeares, Noble-men & Gentle-men, this waye to make Them Noble-men,—This was butt a weake Polise to take off Enemies, naye theye woulde saye hee Is a Shrode Man wee muste please him rewarde him make him a Lorde give him an offise, butt for a freinde hee Is an Honeste man give him nothinge heel doe Use no Hurte—Sertenlye this Poleseye was braught oute off the Indies, wher theye praye to the Divell & nott to God, for theye Saye God's a good man, & will doe no bodye hurte, therfore theye will praye & flatter the Divell thatt maye hurte them,—Whatt man almoste hath been rayسد these two Raynes, thatt did nott apose the kinge & the State, Naye theye had no other waye to rayse them selves theye thaughte & therfore theye plied Itt which was the ruin off our kingdome,—Howe manye In kinge James his time, manye, butt In your Royall Fathers time manye more I coulde name a greate manye that your Ma^{tie} knowes nott, which was before your time—& I Coulde name a greate manye thatt your Ma^{ties} doth knowe Even by dosens,—butt I am loth to offende for feare theye mighte punishe mee att your Counsell Table,—This was so much practised as Henerye Martin thatt Holye Sole, Sayde hee woulde bee the Greateste Man In Englande with the kinge, one askte him howe hee anserde because hee woulde doe him all the Mischeefe hee Coulde.—Butt to see this woefull false state Maxim, For by this meanes The kinges Increase their Enemies Infinetlye & abated their freindes for ther was nott rewardes for the Hopers, thatt all lookte to bee raysde by oposinge, & ther diclination off their freindes weare nott able to helpe them this made Parla-mentes so refrectarye to his Ma^{tie} Everye one oposinge thinkinge to bee Raysed, their perticuler, when the poore Comon wealth was butt a Cloke for their Ambition, this heated & over Heated Everye Parlamente, as much iff nott more then anye thinge Else,—To make Enemies & distroye freindes, a moste pernitiu Maxim, & a false one as Ever was In the worlde.—The Remedye Is verye Easeye, Rewarde your freindes S^r & punishe your Enemies, & then you shall have manye freindes, & fewe Enemies,—Naye, you muste punishe thatt theye maye feelee Itt,—& though you give them their libertye afterwarde, bee shure though you forgive them lett them nott Coume to your Courte or Ever Rayse them for can theye once finde thatt hole In your Ma^{ties} Royall Cote as theye Can offende you & have no hurte your clemenceye shall be playde on, and theye will nott care howe theye

offende you,—Butt when theye See theye are punishte & sett by & no hopes off Risinge, butt by servinge off your Ma^{ty} I dare saye theye will take Care howe theye offende, & as Carefull howe to serve your Ma^{ty} Naye theye will saye ther Is no Jestinge with this kinge, doe you remember howe such a Man was punishte & never Came In agen, & others therfore Itt shall bee an Itum to mee, I assure you S^r,—& doe you remember howe such a one was rewarded for servinge the kinge, well then by the Grace off God I will serve him & lett others deserve him as theye please, butt I will nott, this S^r muste bee both their discourse & behavior, Ande thus your Ma^{ty} will qualesye Parlaments, & your whole kingdome so much as your People will both bless you, and thanke you for Itt.

An other Greate Error was to suffer the Subjecte to dispute the kinges Prorogative In Westminster Halle & In Parlaments, which was a moste dangerous & a pernitiu thinge, & nott the leaste Cause off our late miseries, to lett Everye Bodye see what the kinge maye doe, & whatt hee maye nott doe, & nothings makes a kinge cheaper or pulls him doune more then this, for Itt Is an old Maxim the kinge can doe no wronge & Itt Is moste trewe for hee Is above the Lawe, & so are all Governentes In the worlde Monarkeye, Democresye, or Aristocresye to leave those Greeke wordes In shorte ther Is no Governente butt Itt Is eyther by one or more, & still the transcendent power Is to doe what Itt please, for Itt Is lefte to him or more to judge the Lawe, beinge trusted by the Subiecte to thatt Ende as prime Judge,—when theye talke off the Lawe, the Laweyeres will make Itt a measuringe Caste on both Sides, by their disputes, & Then whos shall judge Itt butt the Supream Judge.—But the Sufferinge off these disputes, I beleve grewe oute off an opinion, thatt whatt soever a kinge woulde have devines shoulde make Itt good by the Lawes off God,—& the Laweyeres shoulde make Itt good by the Lawes off the kingdome, Itt Is trewe wise States some times makes use off both these professions for their Endes, some times, butt Itt muste nott bee with disputes, butt declerations, or such thinges for disputes will make your Ma^{ty} Goe much less,—For your Ma^{ty} will take care off disputes by those Persons whose professions, are to speake on both sides which are Logitians, & Orators, Devines, & Laweyeres, Therefore lett your Ma^{ty} Prorogative bee Ever helde so Sacred as never to bee disputed, for the moste Dangerous Consequenses thatt maye followe,—Butt God forbid butt the Subiecte maye have Shutes with the kinge for matter off Title as for Lande or Leases, butt then thatt Subiecte muste aske the kinge leave firste, & then the kinge never denies them,—An other Error In makinge so manye Priveye Counselors as theye Coude nott sitt att the Table,—the old sayenge Is two Can keepe Counsell iff one bee a waye, ther-

fore the fewer the better,—Iff Use off the Lande Soldier your Ma^{tie} maye have their opinions, & nott neede to make them Priveye Counselors, So off Seae men the like,—So off Trade lett the Merchante deliver his opinion & nott made a priveye Counselor,—& so off the Lawe your Ma^{tie} maye sende for your Aturneye, Solister, & lerned Counsell In the Lawe, to deliver their opinions, withoute makinge them Priveye Counselors, Naye my Lorde Strafforde was off opinion to have no Laweyear off your Priveye Counsell, for theye did butt distracte State affayres,—as I Can tell your Ma^{tie} In Queen Elizebethes Time, olde Burley tolde her Ma^{tie} thatt hee sawe a Ruin Couminge uppon her, for ther was nothinge almoste off State afayres thatt Came to the Borde butt Edgerton thatt was Lorde keeper then woulde Cross Itt with Sayenge Itt was agaynste the Lawe & this In the Ende sayes hee will bee your Ma^{ties} Ruin, so theye thaughte to putt him oute, butt att Laste S^r Roberte Cissill the Lorde Burleies Son which was then Secretarye thaughte hee had founde a waye howe to helpe Itt, & Itt was this to make Poppam then Lorde Cheefe-Justice a Greate Lawyear & hated Edgerton to make him a priveye Counselor, & so to poyse Edgerton, & hee was made a Priveye Counselor, & whatt soever Edgerton sayde hee oposde Itt, & then theye thaughte all was well, butt within a fewe yeares, these two greate Laweyears agreed & then theye weare worse then Ever, for Laweyears woulde Gouverne Armeys, by Ployden, Littletons tenures, & the Statutes att Large & nott by martiall Lawe,—which woulde bee a verye fine Legall no Governemente off an Armeys.—Longe orations att Counsell, one to speake like Tulleye, & the other like Tasitus Is very Rediculus, & moste unfitt for a Counsell Table, to heer them selves twatle awaye so much pretius time to no Purpose, for a Counselor shoulde deliver his opinion as clear & as shorte as hee Can, & to thatt purpose I thinke the Booke off orders for the Table directes Itt So,—For State afayres, I Shoulde wishe your Ma^{tie} to Comunecate them to none, butt your two Secretaries off State & one more att the moste & your selfe to dispose off Them,—An other Error & a greate one theye alwayes sufferde Parlements to Sitt to longe, for when theye have presented theyr Grevanses & desiers & those rectefied for the Good off the Comon wealth, they shoulde bee dismissed which Is a greate benefitt to the Gentle-men to followe their owne afayres as well as for your Ma^{tie} For a Parleme^{nte} will never wante worke, & whatt theye have nott theye will make as this Laste did to the preiudice off kinge & Comon wealth, & to all good men, to the Distruction off our Antiente kinges, to our settled Church & our olde fundamentall Lawes, & the Inslavinge the whole Nation, therefore your Ma^{tie} should doe verye well to prefixe them a time howe longe theye Sholde Sitt, & your Ma^{tie} & your people will finde greate Ease In Itt.—

No Courtier thatt Is nott a priveye Counselor, to medle with State afayres butt your Ma^{ty} to Check him & you will finde the Ease off Itt.—Nor no Groomes off the Bed-Chamber to medle with Petitions & busines more then belonges to him selfe, for your Ma^{ty} hath Masters off Requestes for all Petitions, & so Everye man kepte within his owne Circle off his office & place, for I assure you S^r Their medlinge did much disorder the Common wealth for theyr perticuler Gayne. Ther Is an other Error thatt doth over heate your People Extreameleye & doth your Ma^{ty} much hurte which Is thatt Everye man nowe Is becoumde a Statman,—& Itt Is merlye with the weeklye Corantts, both att home & abroad. Therefore theye Shoulde bee forbid Eyther Domestick or forrayne newse as also such fellowes as Captin Rosingame thatt made 500^l a yeare with writinge newse to severall Persons, this did as much hurte as the other iff nott more, for In a letter bee mighte bee holder then theye durste bee In Printe these to nott onlye to bee forbidden absolutlye, butt to bee punishte Severlye iff theye offende In this kinde, this will So Coole the Nation, & quiett State Speritta, as your Ma^{ty} & your Subiectes will finde greate Ease In Itt, So then all our discourse will be off Huntinge & Haukinge, Bolinge Cockinge & such thinges, & bee Ever redye to Serve your Ma^{ty}

The Secretaries off State heertofore did nott verye well as Cooke & Vayne, for the 2500^l per anum theye had for Intelegence, theye putt thatt upp In their owne purses, & onlye Gave the kinge Exchange newse frome the merchantes.—Butt I Shoulde humblye desier your Ma^{ty} nott to lett your Secretaries wante for Intelegence, & alwayes chershe them & Inrich them for theye deserve Itt for theye have verye much In their Handes,—Ande Sertenlye S^r Hee thatt hath moste & beste Intelegence muste bee wiseste,—for sertenlye hee thatt knowes moste muste bee wiseste, & thatt Is Intelegence, therefore your Ma^{ty} muste never sterve your Instruments for Intelegence which are your Secretaries, for your Embassadors are too bigg publike for Itt butt your Secretaries will finde you oute manye meane men, thatt will give you better, and theye Shoulde alwayes strive to make some Considerable Person your Ma^{ty} by a good pention bothe Counselors In France, Spayne, & Roome, & Jesuitts feed for the Same purpose, whoe Confesses all maner off People & knowes the Greateste Secrettes off State.—Intelegence S^r Is the life off a State, & an Armeye with Secresseye, & therefore nothinge Shoulde bee Spared for Intelegence.

The Cardinall de Richelewe was the wiseste & Greateste States-Man In his time, & hee went playnleye to worke withoute litle Juglinges, hee had butt two thinges which hee did All withall, which was moneye & Armes, sayenge iff the moneye would nott doe the Armes woulde, & iff the Armes fayled

the moneye woulde & iff they weare Singlye to weake beinge joyned theye woulde Effecte moste thinges In this worlde for ther are verye fewe above the Price off moneye, & your Ma^{ty} Sees what worke hee made In the worlde with Itt, & one off the Greateste Instrumentes off our late Troubles,—Ande to thatt purpose hee desierde the kinge off France thatt hee mighte have alwayes so manye hundered Thousande pistolles alwayes lienge bye him which hee had,—Ande I assure your Ma^{ty} thatt the kinge off Spayne hath don with his moneye then with his Armeies, Oh S^r Itt Is powerfull both In church & Comon wealth, for Itt makes Popes & Cardinalls & Intises greate Subiectes fromè their Loyaltie as your Ma^{ty} well knowes, & therfore I besech your Ma^{ty} bee Rich, since you see whatt benefitt woulde Coume to you both att home & abrode by Itt.—Ande nowe I will Ende this Discourse with this, thatt thatt kinge thatt can nott punishe, & rewarde In juste time can nott Gouverne, for ther Is no more to Gouverne this worlde butt by Rewarde & punishmente,—& Itt muste bee don In the verye nick off time or Else Itt Is to no purpose,—Wee knowe no more [than] thatt God Almightye hath butt Rewarde & Punishmente both for this worlde & the nexte, In this worlde by afflictions & Blessinges,—In the nexte worlde his Heaven & his Hell, which Is rewarde & punishmente,—Ande your Ma^{ty} beinge Gods trewe anoynted, & his debutye uppon Earth, nexte & Imediatlye after Christe, howe can your Ma^{ty} followe a better presedente, which I knowe both your Goodnes, & wisdom will doe,—Ande the Greate God Ever prosper you, & preserve you.

ERRORS

An other Error was & a greate one tow thatt moste officers were misplaste for hee thatt Is fitt to bee BB^p off Canterburie Is nott fitt to bee a Generall nor hee thatt Is fitt to bee a Generall to bee BB^p off Canterburie—A Taylor to make Shoes, & a Shoemaker Bricks, this breades a Confution & the kinge & the Comon wealth Ill served,—This was so Comonlye don, as a Merrye mutitian thatt I knowe desierde the place, off the kinges Bagpiper, which Is 50^s a yeare one tolde him hee wonderde hee woulde desier Itt, since hee knewe nothinge off Itt, hee sayde therfore hee hopte to have Itt, for theye alwayes gave places to those thatt weare moste unfitt for them, as a Luteneste place to one thatt playde off the Violl, & a Violeste place to one thatt playde off the Lute,—& so In hier offices, which was our Bayne, as S^r Harye Vayne to bee made Secretarye thatt Could hardlye write & reade.

So to Anhilate the race off Statesmen, as for Example In Queen

Elizabethes dayes, a Gentle-man woulde putt his younger Son to the Univerſetie then to the Ins off Courte to have a smakeringe In the Lawe, afterwarde to wayte off an Ambassador afterwarde to bee his ſecretorie, then to bee lefte as Agents, or Reſedente behinde him, then ſente off manye forren Implayementes,—& after ſome 30: yeares breeding, to bee made a Clerke off the Signett, or a Clerke off the Counsell,—Itt maye bee afterwarde ſecretarye off State,—This was nott onely breeding butt a Breed off States-men fitt to ſerve the Greateſte Monarke In the worlde,— Butt when greates favorites came In, they juſtlyde oute this breede off States-men, whoe ſoever woulde give a thouſande pounds more for the place hee had Itt,—ſo the Gentrye ſeeinge thatt diſpoſed off their Sons otherwiſe, as to the Goſpell, the Lawe, & to bee merchantes, & ſo our Race off States-men was att an Ende.—An other Error though leſſe to putt meane men In to ſerve your Ma^{ty} Prince Henery had men off a 1000: & 2000^l a yeare for his Cup-bearers Suers, & Carvers nott for the pention off 20^l a yeare, butt for the Honor to Serve him,—theſe weare men able to Serve you In the Countreye & Comon wealth, & woulde never fayle your Ma^{ty} when meane & Begerlye men can bee off no uſe to your Ma^{ty} butt a perpetuall charge, when The other what ſoever your Ma^{ty} gives them, you ſhall have ſome thinge agen ſtill worth your moneye.—Prince Harrye I have harde had a note off all Exſelente perſons what ſoever In anye Arte, ſo to drawe them neer him & to his ſervice as ocation ſtill offerde Itt ſelfe,—I have harde Even to rare Lock-Smithes hee hath had In his note—this Is a greates advantage to Princes, nott onely to bee well ſervde butt to bee knowinge In Everye thinge, for a man thatt hath Studied 40: yeares, with greates Labor, & att laſte hath founde oute ſome newe Ingenius thinge In anye Arte, whatt advantage Is Itt to your Ma^{ty} to have him deliver all this to you In halfe an hower,—Prince Harye was a Hopefull Prince,— Butt trewlye S^r withoute flatterye you much Exſeede him In all thinges In his owne waye & manye manye thinges that hee had nott,—doth your Ma^{ty} Remember Ingenius BB^{rs} & many more when your Ma^{ty} was Prince.

OFF THE COURTE TABLES

Onlye a fewe wordes off your Ma^{ty} Tables to your ſeverall officers, which I beleve ſtandes your Ma^{ty} In 40,000^l a yeare, which Is one off the greateſte Honor both to your Ma^{ty} Courte & kingdome thatt I knowe, neyther hath all the kinges In Chriſtendome ſuch Tables, therefore Itt weare pittye theye Shoulde goe leſſe as manye pettye proiets have been for Itt,—Butt Itt Is as trewe thatt theye ſhoulde bee better orderde then

theye have been, thatt your Ma^{tie} woulde bee pleased to Speake to your Lorde Stuarde off your Housholde & to the Controler & Tresorer off your Housholde,—Thatt the Tables which your Ma^{tie} Allowes shoulde all [be] Spente within the Courte & nott to bee Caried oute to their perticuler Houses, for their wives & Childeren, butt all spente In your Ma^{ties} Courte, for the Honor off your Ma^{ties} Courte, & kingdome, So thatt all Strangers, French, Spanierdes, Etaliens, Allmians or anye other maye bee Invited to the Severall Tables, ackordinge to their degrees & qualeties,—Ande so all other Lorde, knightes & Gentle-men off worth thatt Can serve your Ma^{tie} In the Counterye, when these wayte off your Ma^{tie} off a Sundaye or a Holedaye, thatt theye maye bee ackordinge to their degrees & qualeties Invited to the Severall Tables,—which give a Greate Satisfaction & please them Infenitlye So thatt your Ma^{tie} will bee pleased to give a Stricte order thatt Itt Shall bee So,—which will please them moste off all, thatt your Ma^{tie} takes such Care off them—Ande these Countrie Lorde, to carrye the Sorde before your Ma^{tie} to the Chapell in their turnes, theye woulde take Itt as Itt Is for a Greate dell off Honor, & your Ma^{tie} to Speake to them sometimes as theye Goe, & to thanke them for theyr attendance, woulde Infenitlye please & oblige them, for little thinges manye times produses greate thinges, as greate thinges sometimes produses litle ones.

FOR YOUR MA^{TIES} DEVERTISEMENTES

Kinge James, & kinge Charles, your Ma^{ties} Royall Father & Grande Father, alwayes aboute Michill-mas wente to Royston In Stuble time both for Huntinge, & Haukinge both att the feilde & att the River,—this woulde nott onlye refreshe your Ma^{tie} with the Sweet Ayre & wholesome Exercise, butt unbende your more serius thaughtes frome the wayghte off busines thatt you woulde have att London, though busines will followe your Ma^{tie} whersoever you are, butt nott such Thronges off Itt, This S^r will mentayne health & longe life, better than Phisick, which longe life & health, maye theye Ever attende you,—besides Itt will bee such a refreshinge to the Citeye when theye have you agen, with such Joye to see your Ma^{tie} besides their Gayne,—well S^r Then your Ma^{tie} Is well returned to White-Halle & ther prepare a maske for twelve-tyde,—Etaliens makes the Seanes beste, —& all butt your Ma^{tie} maye have their Glorius Atier off Coper which will doe as well for two or three nightes as Silver or Golde & much less charge, which otherwise will bee much founde falte withall by those thatt attendes your Ma^{tie} In the Maske,—I Shoulde wishe the firste time thatt

Itt Is performed, to have all the Lordes & their Ladyes, Sons & Daughters, knights, & Gentlemen off qualite & their Sons & Daughters Invited to Itt, & Everye one to have ticketts from the Lorde Chamberline, for their Enterance, & the Lorde Chamberline to bee verye Carefull thatt none Else Enters butt those thatt are Invited to avoyde Confution & disorder,—& the Lordes & Ladyes to bee Invited to severall Tables thatt night, & the Lorde Chamberline to give order to see them Carefullye plaide.—The seconde time Itt Is performed I shoulde wishe your Ma^{ty} shoulde Invite the Ins off Courte, & none Else,—The thirde time Itt was performed I Shoulde wishe your Ma^{ty} Shoulde Invite the Lorde Maior Sheriffes, & all the Aldermen with theyr wives Sons & Daughters, with the principall Merchantts & no other to Coume In, & some handsome Banquett at Everye time, & your Ma^{ty} To drinke their welcoume which woulde Infenitlye please them.

Att other times to have severall Balls & Invite the younge Ladyes, & give them a Bankett, and drinke their welcoume with thanks.

So everye weeke to have playes, & Invite the Lordes and Ladyes to them.

Then your Ma^{ty} to Ride your Horses off Manege twice a weeke which will Incourage Noble men to doe the like to wayte off you, & to make matches with the Noble men so manye off a Side to run att the Ringe, for a Supper & a Playe, or some litle Jewell for a Prize besides, this to bee In the Tylte-yarde Publiklye & the Lordes & Ladyes to vewe Itt, & theye also to bee Invited to this Supper, & Playe.

Then S^r alwayes uppon your Coronation daye in Comemoration off thatt blessed time, to have a Tiltinge by your younge Lordes & other Greate Persons, which I assure your Ma^{ty} Is the moste Glorius sighte thatt Can bee seene & the moste manlieste,—Though one Sayde thatt Tiltinge was to litle for Erneste & to much for Jeste,—Butt this Tiltinge will make your Lordes good Horse-men & to keepe good Horses.—Theye will dispute agaynst Itt for the Charge, thatt maye Easeleye bee anserde Copper lase will bee verye Cheape & will make as good a Showe for one daye as the beste.—all Queen Elizabethes dayes shes had Itt, & kinge James, & the kinge your Ma^{ty} Father off Blessed memorye was the beste Man att Armes I vowe to God thatt Ever I Sawe both for Grace & Shurmes Eyther att Runinge att the Ringe, or Runinge att tilte,—I dare nott advice your Ma^{ty} to Run att Tilte, because a kinge off France was kille att Tilte by the Earle of Montgomerye a strange accident, a Splinter strikinge In att the Sight off his Bevor,—Butt your Royall Father ran often att Tilte, & thanks bee to God never had anye hurte,—Ande for Gaminge serten times

your Ma^{tie} will Sett, as also for Tennis, & Pal-Malies, Coff & other recreations butt the former are recreations for winter.

S^t Georges feaste Shoulde bee kepte verye Strictlye butt Everye knighte to bee limited nott to have above 50 : men a peece for otherwise the charge woulde bee vaste & hurte their Estates verye much though nott undoe them.

Itt maye please your Ma^{tie} nowe lente growes on & I shoulde wishe your Ma^{tie} to goe to newe Markett which Is the sweeteste place In the worlde & beste Ayre & no place like Itt for Huntinge Haukinge & Coursinge, & Horse Races,—Ande your Royall Father sayde hee did alwayes furnishe him selfe ther with Horses & Houndes for Summer Huntinge,—Ande to thatt purpose your Ma^{tie} will bee pleased to Invite the Northerne Lordes & Genterye thatt hath the beste Horses & Houndes as also frome other partes,—Butt theye muste have longe warninge to provide leaste theye make Excuses, Butt sertenlye when Itt Is knowne your Ma^{tie} will bee ther & the time greate store off the beste will wayte off you,—Itt Is fleet Houndes, Northerne Houndes thatt muste serve your Ma^{tie} for a Stagge will nott bee kilde with slowe ones In anye time, & thus your Ma^{tie} will bee provided & have your sportes to Boote.—ther Is onlye one thinge att Newe-Markett thatt I wishe mighte bee mended, & thatt Is ther are so manye Hye wayes together & Ruttes made by abundance off wagens, & Cartes thatt Coumes thatt waye, thatt when a sente lies cross those wayes Itt Is moste dangerous Ridinge,—Indeed a Horse att full speede naye uppon a Gallope Can nott posiblye holde his feet butt muste faule, as the Earle off Hollande did over those wayes moste dangerouslye & had much adoe to recover Itt, though hee had the beste Petitions & Surgions thatt weare att Courte butt this is Easeleye remedied S^r for Itt Is butt plowinge them Eaven & all Is well, & no danger att all nor no hinderance for the wageners or wagens.—Itt weare well iff your Ma^{tie} made litle wagers, with houndes one agaynste an other, which beste both for sente and vewe & then theye muste bee markte with severall Coullerde Ribans,—or else with Tarr, & oker which are red & black thatt theye maye bee distingiahte this puttes life In the Huntsmen & masters & heates them to greate Mettle, whose Dogges shall Conquer thatt Daye and so Everye daye thatt your Ma^{tie} Huntes.

Your Ma^{tie} beinge att Newe-Markett you are so neer Cambridge as the Chanselor & the Universetye will Invite your Ma^{tie} thether wher theye will moste Royalye Entertayne your Ma^{tie} Everye waye, besides their orations, & Comodies, & Everye Sundaye sende your Ma^{tie} moste Exselente Prechers to Newe-Markett.

Nowe S^r agaynste Easter your Ma^{tie} will Coume to London.—To the

Joye off your Citeye, & the Ladyes thatt have wanted a Courte so Longe,—Ande ther your Ma^{ty} will Entertayne your selfe with severall delights, & huntinge In your Ma^{ty} Neer forrestes, Chases & Parkes untill your Progress which will then drawe on a Pase,—Ande In your Ma^{ty} Progress In the Severall Countie, I know your Ma^{ty} will doe all you Can to please your People both Greate and smale,—& to Caress the greate ones thatt hath power In their severall Countie,—& when your Ma^{ty} hath kilde a Stagge, or a Brase off Buckes to sende them to such Lordes or powerfull men which will bee taken Infenitlye well, naye rather iff your Ma^{ty} sende thatt venison to their Ladyes, Itt will bee taken much better, for as Sr Edwarde Cooke sayde which knewe Itt to well thatt the nighte Crowe was powerfull, & Indeed for the moste parte In Englande, the Graye Mare Is the better Horse,—which I profess & acknoledge for my perticular, for trewlye I am nott pleased Exsepte Itt bee So,—& when your Ma^{ty} Is happye In a vertius Queen I beleve wee muste flatter her two & good Reson,—The meaner sorte off Courtiers are verye peremtorye for the moste parte & gives the Countrie manye times juste Cause to Complayne, & then I shoulde wishe your Ma^{ty} to satisfye your People rather then a meane Insolente Courtier, for such foolishe meane officers doth your Ma^{ty} Greate disservice.

THE DEVERTISMENTES FOR YOUR MA^{TY} PEOPLE BOTH IN THE CITEYE, & COUNTERYE

Firste for London Paris Garden will holde good for the meaner People. Then for severall Playe Houses as ther weare five att leaste In my Tyme,—Black-Friers, the Cock-Pitt, Salisbury Courte, the Fortune, & the Redd Bull,—Ther weare the Boyes thatt played att Black-Friers, & Pauls, & then the kinges Players played att the Globe—which Is nowe Calde the Phenixe,—Some Played, att the Bores heade, & att the Curtin In the feildes & some att the Hope which Is the Beare Garden, and some att White Friers,—Butt five or Sixe Playe Houses Is Enough for all sortes off Peoples diversion & pleasure In thatt kinde,—Then Pupett playes ther will bee to please them besides,—As also dansers off the Ropes, with Guglers & Tumblers,—Besides strange Sightes, off Beastes, Birdes, Monsters, & manye other thinges with severall Sortes off Musike, & dansinge,—Ande all the olde Holedayes, with their Mirth, & rightes sett upp agen : Feastinge dayleye will bee in Merrye Englande, for Englande Is so plentifull off all provitiones, thatt iff wee doe nott Eate them theye will Eate Use, so wee feast In our Defense.

FOR THE COUNTREYE RECREATIONS

Maye Games, Moris Danses, the Lords off the Maye, & Ladye off the Maye, the foole,—& the Hoby Horse muste nott bee forgotten.—Also the whitson Lorde, & Ladye,—Thrashinge off Hens att Shrove-tite,—Caralls & wassells att Christmas, with good Plum Porege & Pyes which nowe are forbidden as prophane ungodlye thinges, wakes,—Fayres & markettes mentaynes Comerse & Trade,—& after Eveninge Prayer Everye Sundaye & Holedye,—The Countereye People with their fresher Lasses to tripp on the Tounne Greene aboute the Maye pole, to the Louder Bagg-Pipe ther to bee refreshte with their Ale & Cakes, Kinge James off Blessed Memorye writt a litle Booke nott onlye In defence off dansinge, butt comanded thatt his good People Shoulde reioyce them selves with dansinge after Eveninge Prayer.

Then ther Shoulde bee players to Goe upp & doune the Counterye, In my time moste Noble men had Counterye Players, Dansers on the Ropes. Guglers Tumblers, & Indeed moste off all those thinges I formerlye Spoke off Coumes doune Into the Counterye,—Ande these thinges will much Diverte & please the People,—Butt M^r Tomas Kilagre your Ma^{ties} Master off the the Revells I knowe will manege all these thinges moste discretlye for your Ma^{ties} Honor, & the good off the Comon wealth,—Lookinge leaste after his owne Peticuler, or Else I am much mistaken. The devirtismentes will amuse the peoples thaughts, & keepe them In harmles action which will free your Ma^{ties} frome faction & Rebellion :

FOR THE GOVERMENTE OFF SCOTTLANDE

Scottlande Is an antiente kingdome, full off Nobilitye & Genterye, butt their Lawes are quite differente frome ours,—Ande theye woulde bee loth to change them, & alterations for the moste parte Is dangerous, & therfore I Shoulde wishe your Ma^{ties} to keepe them as they are, for Itt will nott bee worth the paynes & trouble to alter them,—For the Govermente off their Church I beleve theye are wearye off this theye have & will Petition your Ma^{ties} herafter for BB^{ties} agen, butt trewlye untill theye Petition your Ma^{ties} I woulde lett them alone In their owne waye,—Then to Governe Itt as Itt is nowe by an Armeie I Shoulde nott advise your Ma^{ties} to doe so,—For the charge Is to greate for anye benefitt Can Coume to your Ma^{ties} off Itt,—firste Itt discontents all your Subiectes ther & as longe as your Ma^{ties} hath a Garison In Barwick, Carlile, Newe-Castle & Tinnmouth, I dare saye the

Counties Trente North will alwayes secuer your Ma^{ty} frome Scottlande, & no danger Exsepte the Towe kingdomes shoulde agree agen which I beleve theye will never doe—Soe I shoulde Humblye advise your Ma^{ty} to Gouverne Scottlande by their owne Lawes & to bee Governde by their owne Nation such as your Ma^{ty} Shall thinke fitt to opoynte both for the Civill & Miletarye Gouvernemente, the stronge places to bee In such handes as maye bee saythfull Iff Itt bee posible,—There are manye Gallante Persons In this kingdome, butt beinge nott so rich your Ma^{ty} will bee pleased to bee kinde to them,—For I assure your Ma^{ty} Queen Elizabeth with a verye litle moneye did Gouverne Scotlande more absolutlye, then anye kinge or Queen off Itt Ever did.—butt I thinke Itt Is growne Deerer Nowe,—They are apte to bee Factius, & greate anye-moesities one agaynste an other In their owne Countrye though nott oute off Itt, which your Ma^{ty} Continuallye maye make your advantage off,—To all the Secretts off Scottlande, Butt so longe as your Ma^{ty} Is master off Englande ther Is no feare off Scottlande, Ther Is no man In the worlde knowes both the kingdome, & the People better then your Ma^{ty} doth, which Is a greate blessinge For Scottlande, & much a greater Blessinge for Englande.

Ande wher Scottlande did depende uppon France heertofores when the kingdomes weare seperated, as Scottlande when theye weare opreste by Englande to have Suckers & helpe from France, & so when the Englishes made warr In France, then the Scotts to deverte thatt warr, to make warrs In Englande, but Itt served Eyther off their Turnes so little as Edwardes the thirde thatt Gallante kinge, & his Son thatt unparelede Brave Black Prince, Calde so because off his black Armor that hee wore, I saye this Brave kinge, & Gallante Prince In the famous Batle off Poytiers—Tooke the kinge off France Prisoner, & att the same time those Lordes the kinge lefte behinde him tooke the kinge off Scotts prisoner, & both these kinges mett Prisoners att Winsor Castle,—butt for the Relation thatt Scottlande hath nowe to France, Is no greate matter, for though theye have the privelige off the Nation iff theye have nott much moneye to bye Lande Leases Houses or offices Itt Signifieth litle or nothings,—Ande what Is Itt to the Scotch Nation for one man to have a troope off Horse, or for a fewe to holde halpertes & to bee off the kinge off France his Garde nothings, therefore theye looke to have their Shares off the Sweet off Englande & therefore will depende uppon your Ma^{ty} Ande for the kinge off France Since Scottlande Is joyned to Englande hee doth nott much valewe them Since nowe theye Can nott serve his Turne, though ther are some litle affections off the Scotts remayninge to the French butt theye are butt weake, & the affections off the french weaker to them ;—

FOR THE GOVERMENTE OFF IRELANDE

Your Ma^{tie} knowes well thatt Irelande Is a Subordinate kingdome to Englande Governde by the Same Lawes, & your Ma^{tie} will bee pleased thatt theye maye have good Lawe-yeares & Juste Judges which theye have nott Ever been hapye In The kingdome Is verye fertill & plentifull off all provitions, butt by reson the people are naturelye Laseye, the kingdome Is nott husbended & Cultevated as Itt aughte to bee, tis trewe Itt Is poore butt thatt Is nott the falte off the kingdome, butt merlye wante off Trade which Trade makes Everye kingdome Rich,—& sertenlye no kingdome Is better Seated for trade then Irelande, havinge the beste Portes & Havens In the worlde, & sertenlye hade the Earle off Strafforde Continued ther anye time hee had made thatt kingdome by trade & Increasinge their Shippinge verye Rich, & him selfe nott the poorer for Itt,—Ande thus have braught your Ma^{tie} a greate revenewe oute off Irelande, which hertofore was alwayes a verye greate charge to the kingdome off Englande,—But I have hard some Saye that a parlamente In Englande woulde bee agaynste the Inrichinge off Irelande thinkinge Itt woulde bee a preiudice to Englande by takinge off so much off the Trade awaye In Englande, butt I have harde no Solid Argumentes for Itt, & untill I doe I Shoulde thinke your Ma^{tie} had better have two rich kingdomes then one,—For Englande woulde bee shrodlye putt to Itt, to mentayne two kingdomes more then Itt selfe,—& so your Ma^{ties} Cofers might bee Emtye, your Ma^{ties} Royall predesessers had alwayes a good Armeye In Irelande, & I Shoulde alwayes wishe your Ma^{tie} so to have rather to Increase Itt then to deminishe Itt, nott onlye for the Safteye & quiett off the Subiectes ther, butt uppon anye ocation thatt Is nesesarye your Ma^{tie} might transporte them for your Service,—A wise juste & Ho^{bl} Person for your Lord Leuftenant Ther Is verye nesesarye, & trewlye I knowe none so fitt, as the Lord Marquis off ormonde or deserves Itt like him, or can serve your Ma^{tie} halfe so well, being Able knoinge In thatt kingdome, Loyall faythfull to your Service & affectionate to your Ma^{ties} Person—The Irishe are naturelye Laseye & apte to bee sturde to Rebellion by their Priestes who have greate power over them,—as the French kinge had power off the Scottes, so the kinge off Spayne had to Greate an Interesse In Irelande wittnes the Earle off Terone,—For thatt Rebellion did Emtye Queen Elizabethes Cofers,—as I was tolde olde Burleye Sayde,—Thatt helpinge Henerye the forth off France, settinge upp the States off the Lowe Countries, pullinge doune the kinge off Spayne by her warr with him, so poore as hee was beggde for In Churches, & absolutlye Governinge Scott-

lande & with all this sayes olde Burleye, yett my mistris sayes hee [sic] had moneye In her Covers,—Butt hee vowed iff the warr with Irelande helde butt a litle longer, thatt the Queen woulde bee the Arants begger off anye kinge or Queen In the Christian worlde.—The kinge off Spayne made this warr by waye off Diversion hee was so tormented with the Englishe warr,—Ande nowe Sr give mee leave to tell you this Storye, kinge James off Blessed memorye calde for the Lorde Chichester whoe had been manye yeares Debutye off Irelande, & a verye wise man, & Comanded him to tell him trewlye the dispotitions & humors off his Irishe Subiectes, the Natives which weare the olde Irishe & hee asserete, Iff Itt please your Ma^{ty} I will tell you the truth In Shorte,—Theye are a verye Scurveye People, & theye have been as Scurveleye used For the firste I knowe nott, butt for the laste I dare Sweare Is Trewe, & I thinke ther are a greate manye wittnes for Itt, both Englishe & Scotts, thatt knowe Itt full well & have gaynde well bye Itt, & the meaneste People, & Bankeroutes, wente thether, & within a fewe yers grewe to huge Riches, & to bee greate Lorde, so your Ma^{ty} sees whatt a fruitfull place your kingdome off Irelande Is.

FOR GOVERMENTE, IN GENERALL

Ther hath been a Greate question for kinges wether theye Shoulde Governe, by Love, or feare, manye Argumentes for love butt one iff the People love him ther Is nothinge thatt hee Can desier thatt the Subiecte will nott Grante & Itt Is with thatt Ease, pleasure & Sweetnes, as nothinge Can bee better, Butt those thatt are for governinge by feare, saye Shrodlye, thaye saye thatt Love dependes off them & nott off the kinge, & thatt their love Is varius & alterable, uppon Everye, & no Ocation,—Butt with feare saye theye depende uppon the kinge, & therfore thatt Is the Safer & sureste waye saye theye.—Nowe maye Itt please your Ma^{ty} I am off neyther off their Mindes, Butt I Shoulde wishe your Ma^{ty} to Governe by both, Love & feare mixte together as ocation serves,—havinge the power which Is forse & never to use Itt butt uppon necesetye, when ther Is eyther Comotion, or to prevente Itt, when anye what soever begins to Sowe sedition between the kinge & his People & to Governe as God Almightye doth by promises & Threatninges, Rewardes for doinge well & punishmentes for those thatt offende,

Then the Greate studye & lerninge for kinges, & wise men Is nott to reade bookes butt to reade men, for all busines In the worlde Is In men,—wittneses are men, Juries are men, Judges are Men, Greate officers are Men,—favoritts are Men, Ande Greate Monarkes, kinges, & Princes are

Men,—Naye thatt which Is so sublime Devinetye Is Governed by men as the Convocation off BB^m In Englande are Men, The Classis are Men, The Pope & the Cardinales are Men & though theye saye the Pope Is chosen by the Holye Goste, iff Itt weare so I daresaye The French kinge & kinge off Spayne woulde offer him a bribe on Eyther Side to gett the Pope off the Spanishe Side or on the French side, & all the Cardinalls are perpetuallie devided between France, & Spayne by bribes,—All devine Counsellis which are devine Parlamentes are Men & packte Counsellis Conionlye wittnes the Counsell off Trente,—All States Men, are men, all Parlements are Men,—So thatt hee thatt Is a Master In readinge off Men, knowinge their dispositiōs & which bate Is moste proper to hooke them withall Gaynes his busines, In all kindes for the lawe Is a nose off waxe Ande Is to bee Pulde anye waye as those Men pleaseth, & for Counsell on both Sides makes Itt a Mesuringe Caste, so thatt the Judge maye Judge Itt off which Side hee pleaseth, & hath Lawe for Itt,—Naye the Holye writt howe Itt Is disputed on all Sides juste contrarie on to the other & both aledges Textes for Itt, naye the same Textes pro & Con; Ther are three hundereth severall opinions on this smale Texte THIS IS MY BODYE,—so thatt In their severall kingdomes, Men judge Itt & wee muste obaye their Judgmentes wether Itt bee righte or wronge, because Itt standes for right as long as thatt Authoretie hath power to judge Itt,—So thatt gayne the Men & all Is Gaynde, so thatt sertenlye the wiseste Studye Is to reade Men, since all thinges In this worlde Lies In their handes.

Education Is a mightye Matter, theye Cale Itt a seconde Nature, butt I beleve Itt Is converted Into Nature & Is Nature Itt selfe,—For Iff wee Consider Nature no more then weeping Laffinge, hungerye, thursteye, Eatinge, drinkinge, urenisinge, & the Sege &c,—butt verye these are alterde perpetuallie by Costome, butt all the reste Is verye Costum,—For though a man had never so Exselente an Naturall witt, borne with him, whatt Is thatt Naturall witt when hee Is borne no more butt his five senses cleer to bringe outwarde obiectes to his brayne, & his brayne off Such a temper as to dispose well off them when theye are ther, So thatt iff this Exselente Mother witt had no obiectes thatt came In, butt bee kepte In a Dungeon untill hee weare twentye yeares olde, & then bringe him oute hee woulde bee less knowinge then a well Educated Dogg, because his brayne hath had nothinge to worke off butt when Itt hath then the Naturall witt shewes Itt selfe, & Coustome Is the Greate Tirante off Man kinde, doth Itt nott for the moste parte make men off such Religions as theye are off, & Contience, both by Costum off breedinge, Else whye shoulde Itt bee agaynste a Protestantes Contience to goe to

Mass, & a Papistes Contience to goe to our Prayers butt by Costome off Breedinge, I will nott speake off knaves thatt alters their Religion or opinions for gayne, or an unsettled foole butt what for the moste parte Governes The worlde, for wee are nott to make an Exseptions a Rule, for ther Is no Rule withoute an Exseptions, Ande sertenlye weare a Childe Educated In Turkeye hee woulde bee a Turke & give God thanks for Itt, as wee doe the Contrarye howe shoulde hee doe otherwise, for S^t Pauls sayeth that sayth Coumes by hearings* So powerfull S^t Is Coustome,—Itt Is Converted In to Nature, & Is Nature & In the Bloud,—as for Example a Soldier Is Sick off a fever, & hee tells his Docter whatt an Ill night hee hath had with troublesome Dreames, thatt hee dremte hee was to make a Bridge good, & howe his legges & Armes weare Shott off & tumbled In to the water & all his men loste—what Is this butt Costome,—A Salons Brother thatt hath our Bookee off Marters, by Harte with often Bedinge when hee Is In a fever Complaynes to his Docter off Troblesome Dreames, thatt hee was Condemnde to dye for his Religion, to bee burnte In smithfeilde, butt thatt in the midste off the flames hee founde such Coumpherte Singinge the 25th salme, & so his Sole ascended to Heaven In thatt fiery chariott, whatt Is this butt Coustome, naye a litle Childe dreames howe Jack a Dandye followed him & frighted him Costome—naye Costome Is so powerfull as a Philosopher tolde mee thatt a barr off Iron In a windore standinge 80: yeares, though the Endes weare Equalye poyssed, yett thatt Ende that used to bee downwarde will tende downwarde iff Itt bee putt In a Dishe & thatt Dishe In water, & iff Coustome have such power off Iron whatt shoulde Itt have off fleshe & Bloud, oh Itt Is powerfull,—Naye Itt Is as powerfull when one Is awake & well as In sicknes & a sleepe, butt Indeed all our lives are butt wakinge dreames,—as for Example a man thatt hath been piuslye Educated, Sees somethinge thatt is white whensoever wee see thatt wee are alwayes Simulisinge, as white as snowe, white as a lilleye or somethinge, so this Godlye Educated Man sees white presentlye hee thinkes white as a Sirpliss thatt Sirpliss uppon a preacher, that preacher In a Pulpett, preachinge on the Passion, presentlye hee strikes his breaste & Is att his prayers with holye Ejaculations, This Is Costome,—An other thatt hath been bred more In Cavalier when hee sees white hee Is Simulisinge Itt, to as white as a Smock, thatt Smock uppon a Bewtifull Venus, Loves sayles Hoyste upp for Qupids voyage & hee Imbarked flotinge on loves tossing waves, whatt Is this butt Costome,—Naye Itt Is so powerfull as wee argewe Itt thinkinge wee chuse the beste by our Exselente Judgmente when Costome absolutlye Swayes us as for

* Wher are ther firser Turkes then the Janesaries which are Christians Children.

Exsample your Ma^{tie} knowes some Lordes thatt are alwayes Gallopinge upp & doune, beinge perswaded still Itt Is the beste for them, though theye are often deseved In Itt, yett still theye are att Itt agen, & meerlye transported by Costome.—An other Gentleman which Is a moste faythfull & affectionate Servante to your Ma^{tie} off my knoledge whos hath had a longe Costome off Lasines, & hee fortifies him selfe as hee thinkes with manye Exselente Argumentes, to Sitt still ; when Itt Is nott his Argumentes, but the Coustome off Lasines, thatt swayes his Argumentes,—yett I beseech your Ma^{tie} give mee leave to saye somethinge In the behalfe off thatt Gentleman firste hee hath much a doe to live & sitt still, therfore hee hath no Moneye for Jurneyes, nexte hee hath been verye Sickleye off Late, & lastlye hee Is growne olde, all which three thinges I dare anser for him, hee Is verye sorye forr, & these three thinges weare Enough to keepe him att home, withoute Costome,—So I have anserde as well as I Can for my freinde, for trewlye I have founde verye fewe Else a freinde to him.

As a Naturall good witt In a dungion Is nothinge withoute Education In seeinge the Greate worlde & consideringe off Itt, so Is Education less withoute havinge a good witt for Itt makes him butt the more foole, for Coriatt Coude Speake Greeke & stande on his heade & yett hee was butt an Ass, an Artifiitall foole, on witt flies above all thinges In the worlde a hye pitch for thatt which theye cale Lerninge putts a good witt oute off the righte waye off knoledge with false Artes.

For what Is the Arte off Poetrye, the Arte off Logick, & the Arte off Retorick, nothinge butt the Imetation off Nature & farr Shorte off hertofor Horace his Arte off Poetreye will never make a good Poett iff hee bee nott so by nature nor Aristotles Logick with his premises & Conclution make a wise Statsman iff hee bee nott so by nature nor Aristotles Retorick make a good orator iff hee bee nott so by Nature,—I have harde the BB^{re} off Salisburie saye which was an Exselente orator thatt the Arte off Retorick did never helpe him butt his owne Naturall witt, no Itt Is nott Eufania Gratia will doe anye good iff hee have nott a good Naturall witt off his owne,—For when Nature gave anye one the Gifte off Poeterye, Logick, Retorick Naturalye then some Laborius dull fellowe tooke notes off what theye sayed, & putt Itt Into a Methode, & thatt Methode theye cale the Artes off those three.—A good Memoreye, a good witt which Is Simulisinge off wordes & thinges & a good Judgemente which Is rightlye to distingishe & all these Naturalye with Education In greate Cities att home, & abroad, In severall Courtes, & In severall Armeies, Is beyonde all the Education In all the Universeties In the worlde, a Man thatt hath a good witt thatt hath Converte with all sortes off People from the begger to the kinge,—Such witts are borne to

Leade, & nott to followe, To teach, & nott to Learne, butt ther are butt fewe off them,—S^r Walter Rawleye was one off them, & some one or two more & those weare all thatt Ever I knewe In all my Time,—Ande nowe S^r I besech your Ma^{ty} to forgive this Philosophicall digression for I could nott helpe Itt because Itt came In my waye, Butt to Conclude with whatt I began withall, theye thatt woulde seeme to bee so much for the kinge as to forgett the Comon wealth doth the kinge verye greates disservice, & theye thatt seeme to bee so much for the Comon wealth as to forgett the kinge doth the Comon wealth worse service for sertenlye the kinge & the Comon wealth Is no more to bee seperated, then Christe & His Church,

FOR FORRAYNE STATES

Iff Itt please your Ma^{ty}. I will begin firste with the States off the Lowe-Countries as Concerninge your Ma^{ty}s Intereste moste,—when your Ma^{ty} Is well settled In your throne, & hath moneye In your Purse, then I woulde humblye advise your Ma^{ty} to demande off the States the same priveleges Queen Elizabeth had, which Is to have Flushing & the Brill In your Ma^{ty}s handes, & a Garrison off your owne In them, some maye saye theye maye take them awaye when theye will Itt Is trewe butt theye dare nott for feare your Ma^{ty} shoulde make a warr with them, & iff your Ma^{ty} had had those two tounes nowe In your handes theye woulde have been off greate Use to you, the nexte Is thatt your Ma^{ty}s Embasador shoulde sitt In all their Counsells as theye did In Queen Elizabethes time, the nexte Is so manye foote & Horse alwayes to asiste you, as also such a Number off Shipinge your Ma^{ty} payenge for them,—To paye your Ma^{ty} a Rente for their Herringe Fishinge,—& your Ma^{ty} also to fishe for ther Is Enough for both, Ande then a Leage offensive & Defensive with them, for Hollande muste bee your Ma^{ty}s oute worke, & Thus your Ma^{ty} neede nott Care for all the Christian worlde for Itt Is the Seae thatt will over Awe all your Greate Neyghbors, Butt some will saye whatt iff theye will nott doe Itt, then your Ma^{ty} maye beate them to Itt with greate fasiletie, & Barr them your Portes & theye are undon, & therfore Itt Is In your Ma^{ty}s Power & nott In theirs & therfore sertenlye your Ma^{ty} Can nott doe better then to doe Itt—Butt your Ma^{ty} will bee Carefull nott to bee diswaded frome thatt which will bee so advantagius to you, for sertenlye S^r theye will offer to bribe all your Greate offisera, which theye have don alwayes & so have gott their Endes,—Butt your Ma^{ty} will soone finde oute thatt by their Argumentes though theye handle Itt never so Cuninglye,—with sayenge

Itt Is a moste dangerous thinge att this time consideringe the Coniuncture off Afayres, verye formerlye when tis their worships Bribes.

FOR FRANCE & SPAYNE

When your Ma^{tie} Is well settled In your Throne, & all your kingdomes In obedience & Peace & your Ma^{tie} good somes In your Purse, then I shoulde humblye advise your Ma^{tie} to have a warr with one off these Greate kinges,—To begin with France I Sholde thinke beste, for alwayes the nereste Neyghbors are the moste troublsome, espetialye beinge so powerfull,—The Animosetye hath been longe & Greate between the two Nations the Englishe & the French, for whensoever In storye the French names the Enemye withoute anye other addition, hee meanes alwayes the Englishe Thatt warr then thatt your Ma^{tie} makes with the French I woulde nott have Itt by lande by no meanes;—For when your Ma^{ties} Royall Ancesters made a warr In France, then ther was a Duke off Britaneye, Normandye, Burgendye, Lorayne & manye other pettie Princes, which tooke parte with Englande & nowe moste off these are added to the Crowne off France, & some devided otherwayes which makes a greate difference In makinge a warr by Lande therfore the advantagius warr your Ma^{tie} Is to make with France Is to bee made by Seae,—So thatt your Ma^{tie} maye burne all his Shippes In his Havens, & nott suffer a Frenshe Shipp to sturr anye wher butt Eyther to take him or Sinke him, & this continewd butt a fewe yeares will bringe him to Reson Inrich your Ma^{ties} kingdome, Impoverishe his & make him nothinge by Seae att all, which nowe Is growne to stronge which Is dangerous for your kingdome, & this will secuer your Ma^{tie} wher you need nott feare an Invation for hee will have no shippinge to Transporte them, & besides wether the kinge off Spayne bee In warr or peace with the French hee will underhande give your Ma^{tie} good somes yearlye both to make & Continewe the warr with the French,—When your Ma^{tie} hath pared the kinge off Frances nayles thus by Seae,—then harken to a peace with him, which your Ma^{tie} maye have uppon your owne Conditions,—Ande then have a warr with Spayne & by Seae to which the French will give your Ma^{tie} good somes yearlye for to make thatt warr & to Continewe Itt, for Lewis the Eleventh, the Crafties Foxe that Ever was kinge off France For feare off Edwarde the Forth att an Entrevewe In France Gave him a greate some off moneye, & so yearlye to withdrawe his Armeys & to have a Peace,—Ande the storye sayes I thinke Itt was Comines, thatt a French Lorde Speakinge off the Agrement, sayde that Pention that my kinge gives yours, you are mistaken sayes the Englishe Lorde Itt is a

Tribute; Butt for the warr with Spayne, to asalte his Indies I doe nott Like the Spanierde Is so well fortified & so stronge ther, & the voyage Is so longe thatt our Men woulde bee so weake as theye woulde nott be fitt to fighte,—I knowe nott what the Barbadoes the Bermoodes, Virginia, Newe Englande & newe Scottlande mighte helpe butt I doubt butt litle yett;—therfore the warr Shoulde bee by Seae butt no Invation, to hinder his Trade to hinder his Silver flote,—& thatt woulde begger him In a litle time as Queen Elizabeth did. & your Ma^{ty} will bee three times as stronge by Seae as Shee was,*—The advantages off a forren warr, & with these two kinges In their Turnes, are firste theye will bee so weakende as your Ma^{ty} needes nott feare them for anye Invation,—Then Itt will Inrich your Ma^{ty} kingdome, verye much Increase your Ma^{ty} Shippinge—Busie your People & the looser Sorte, as also the better sorte to bee full off Im- ployement, vente the overplus thatt woulde bee a Burthen to the kingdome, make your People warlike & Espetialye bye Seae, which is your Ma^{ty} Greateste strength, For Makinge a Forren warr, keepes your Ma^{ty} safe att home, both frome Invation & a Sivell warr,—When a Softe & longe Peace makes a Sivell warr, fomented by Devines & Lawe-yeares, for the People muste bee busied with somethinge, or Else theye will finde worke them selves, though to the Ruin off the kingdome, Therefore ther Is nothinge like a forren warr, For your Ma^{ty} Safteye & Honor, for the good off your People & kingdome,—Ande so the Greate God Ever Bless, Prosper, & Preserve you.

* For the reste off the Princes theye are so pettye ons as I will nott trouble your Ma^{ty} with Speakinge off them for all the reste are devided between France and Spayne.

II

(III C 3)

*Considerations touching the facility or Difficulty of the Motions
of a Horse on streight lines, & Circular*

1. The most naturall & easy posture of the body of a Horse, at rest, is in a streight line: for in that posture every Horse, standing still, and at liberty, naturally putts himself.

2. All voluntary motion of his body hath somewhat of difficulty in it, though at first insensible: for being continued, we finde it breedes weariness at last. and the reason of this seemes to be, because all motion requires some labour of spirits & parts, w^{ch} by degrees, waste & weare wth that labour: & the wasting of those spirits & wearing of those parts is that we call Tireing.

3. Of such motions, that is more difficult, to which the body, limmes, ioynts, or other intruments of motion, are naturally less fitt & pliant.

4. Since every Motion hath in it some difficulty, the greater, or swifter, the Motion, the greater is the difficulty to performe it.

5. Agayne, since every motion hath in it some difficulty, the more motions together, the more is the difficulty to performe them.

6. All flexure of a horses body to the right hand, or left, hath some difficulty in it, first because there is requird some labour of motion to putt & hold the body into that flexure: secondly, because that posture is somewhat constreind, as putting the body out of the more naturall & easy situation of the parts, w^{ch} is to lye in a streight line. Thirdly, because the joynts & limmes of the body are not naturally very apt or pliant to move that way.

7. Seeing all such flexure of the body hath in it some difficulty; the greater that flexure, the greater also must be the difficulty; the body being thereby more constreind, & more out of the naturall & most easy posture of a streight line.

8. A Horse then moves at ease (all other circumstances supposed equall & alive) when those parts of him, w^{ch} are naturally aptest to lead, are foremost in the motion; & those w^{ch} are aptest to follow, come after.

Contrarily, he moves then with most difficulty, when those parts w^{ch} should lead in the motion, follow ; & those w^{ch} should follow, leade.

9. If in a horse some parts are naturally apt to move nimble, & others to move slowly : the horse shall then move more at ease, when the former kinde move swifter, & the later slower. & contrarily most uneasily, when that order is perverted. But if his parts be generally equally disposed to motion, he shall then move easier, when all parts move equally, & so share the labour of the motion equally betweene them ; then when some move faster than others, & so bearing a greater part of the labour must sooner tire. and if but one part necessary to motion, faile ; the Motion must cease. And the greater the inequality of y^e parts motion, y^e more difficulty.

10. A Horse moving on a streight line, alters not the naturall & easy posture of his body from a streight line, to the one hand, or the other.

11. A Horse moving on the circumference of a circle, makes necessarily some flexure of his body to the right hand, or the left. and that flexure somewhat fitted to the bent of that circumference on w^{ch} he moves.

12. The bent of the circumference of a less circle being greater, than the bent of the circumference of a greater circle ; and a horse moving on a circumference, being necessarily to fitt his body nere to the bent of that circumference : He must necessarily make a greater flexure of his body, when he moves on y^e circumference of a less circle than when he moves on the circumference of a greater.

13. The most naturall & easy motion of a horse seemes to be direct progression on a streight line forwards. for to such a motion the naturall posture, figure, order, & pliantness, of his body, limmes, ioynts, & other instruments of motion seeme fittest. For this motion putts not the body out of his most naturall & easy posture (by the 10.) neither inverts it the naturall order of the parts : but those w^{ch} are foremost lead, and those w^{ch} behinde follow. Neither divides it the motion unequally betweene them, but the foreparts move just as fast as the hinder-parts. and lastly, the Parts suffer no other labour of motion, but only one, viz : that w^{ch} serves to direct progression.

14. The motion of a horse directly sidewise, betweene two parallel streight lines, is more difficult then that foreright. For though this motiō alter not the naturall posture of the body frō a streight line ; nor invert the naturall order of the parts, setting that before in motiō w^{ch} should follow : nor divide the motiō inequally, making one part move faster then another : nor require other labour of motion, then one viz : that w^{ch} serves for direct Digression : yet seing the ioynts are naturally more vnapt for motion that way, it must be performed wth more difficulty, then that w^{ch} is foreright.

15. The motion of a horse on a streight line directly backwards, seemes to be more difficult then eyther progression directly forewards, or digression directly sidewise. For though this motion alter not the naturall posture of the body frō a streight line: nor divide the motion unequally betweene the parts, making some more faster than others: nor require more labours than one, viz: that w^{ch} serves for direct Progression: yet seing it inverts the naturall order of the parts motion, making those parts lead, w^{ch} naturally should follow; & that the instruments of motion are naturally more vnapt to move that way: it cannot be performed but wth greater difficulty, then eyther of the two other.

16. As for the meane motions of a horse on a streight line, that is when he goes not directly forward, or directly sidewise, or directly backward; but slope-wise, eyther forward or backward; yet still on a streight line betweene two pallels: I conceive the easiness or difficulty of them to be more or less, according as they approach nerer to, or remove farther from, the easier, or more difficult, of those three streight motions next before mentiond. for being made betweene them, they must participat of their conditions in the same degree, as they are neerer to, or farther off, from them,

17. And as for the comparison betweene the motion of a horse to the right hand or left, w^{ch} is easier: I conceive the easiness, or rather y^e difficulty to be equall: because the right & left parts of a horse seeme naturally in all other conditions equall. Vnless perhaps Nature, or Custome, or some supervenient accident, have made the right side more apt to lead in motiō then the left. for in such case, the difficulty must be greater in moving towards the left hand, then towards the right. But for Custome or other accidents, they are out of the consideratiō of this Art in generall, w^{ch} is to ground it self upon principles of Nature, w^{ch} are comonly certaine & the same in all; & not on accidents, w^{ch} are subiect to much uncertainty & alteration, not only in severall subiects, but sometimes in the same: And this may be understood of motiō as well on a circular line as on a streight.

18. The motion of a horse on the circumference of a circle is more difficult then his motion on a streight line. for first it alters y^e body frō the naturall posture of a right line; then, besides the labour of motion of simple goeing, it requires another labour of motiō of flexure, to accomodat the body to the bent of the circūference; to both w^{ch} motions the parts are not naturally very apt. Besides it divides the motion unequally betweene the parts: for those parts w^{ch} are next the circumference, more faster, & those w^{ch} are next the centre slower. all w^{ch} considerations cause the more difficulty in that motiō, then in the right.

19. A horse moving on the circumference of a circle, about a pillar, as the centre, goes wth more difficulty when his head is toward the centre & his croup toward the circumference. & easier, when the contrary. For (though in other things they are equall, yet) when the head is toward the centre, & the croup towards the circumference, the Croup must move faster then the head. & as it were lead in the motiō; whereas the foreparts are apter to move faster & lead the hinder parts.

20. The motiō of a horse on the circumference of a less circle (all other circumstances supposed equall & alike) is more difficult then that on the circumference of a greater circle. Because to such a motion there is requir'd a greater flexure of his body (by the 12th) and the greater flexure, the greater the difficulty, to make or ^{hold} keep it so. (by the 7th).

21. A horse moving circularly nere the center or pillar, (all other circumstances supposed equall) goes with greater Difficulty, then when he moves so farther off y^e pillar. because he then moves on the circumference of a less circle, w^{ch}, by the precedent consideratiō, is y^e harder motion.

22. That horse w^{ch} in his motiō about a pillar, crosses the semidiameters of y^e circle alwayes at right angles so that his head & croup are still equally distant frō the centre, (all other circumstances supposed equall) moves easiest. But he y^t keeps his body alwayes in a semidiameter of the circle, so that his head or croup poynt still directly to the center, moves hardest. Because the former coming nere to a foreright motiō on a streight line, requires least flexure of the body: but the later coming nerest to a motion sidewise, requires the shortest turne & moste constreind flexure, to performe it. Nay this latter seemes to come nere motiō backward: w^{ch} is y^e most difficult of all.

23. As for the meane circular motions of a horse, betweene the two former, mentiond in the precedent consideratiō, that is, when the body of the horse, in his motiō about the pillar poynts not directly to the center, nor directly crosses the semidiameter: but poynts by the centre; in regard they are made betweene the two former, they partake of their conditions in a greater or less degree, as they are nerer to or farther off, them. & consequently are thence to be compar'd for ease or difficulty. so that the more the body declines the centre, the easier it moves: & the less, the harder. because that approaches nerer the place of easiest motiō: & this the place of most difficult.

III

(IV D 1)

That the Articles of peace are a very improper subject of a parliamentary enquiry both by reason of the unusualness of the proposal and the uncertain issue of such debates in popular Assemblys.

That while such a debate is depending it will afford a fair opportunity for the faction to practice all their arts in working upon the discontented and seducing the weak, & for mere mercenarys to raise their demands, & in generall for all the secret and open enemys of the Ministry to link themselves together.

That ther are many who like the peace who would hang the peace-makers, and some who like it in generall that in some votes upon particular Articles may leave the Ministry; especially upon the Article of Spain's remaining in the hands of a Branch of the house of Bourbon, most people will reckon it a point of honour to vote as they did before.

Any vote savouring of discontent with the present Articles of peace might have a very ill effect abroad in making them think themselves unsecure of the observance of them, or in danger of a new war in case of the prevalency of the faction in England; which considering the uncertainty of our Government is (at least to them) no impossible supposition.

For these and many other reasons it may be advyseable to delay the enquiry into the state of the nation till parliamentary business is near finished, & so it be in the Queen's power to stop it or lett it go on as she pleases.

But if such an enquiry is to be made, it is better that it should be proposed by the Ministry than extorted from them.

That in managing such a debate the faction should be given to understand, that if they are not willing to come in to an unanimous vote of an Address of general thanks and approbation they must expect to have their proceedings narrowly enquired into.

In the Debate upon the state of the nation care should be taken not to lett them break in upon the Articles of peace—directly before the previous enquiry into the state of the nation when the treaty first commenced

without which it is impossible to pass any just or reasonable judgment. Further, I think three particulars will fall rightly under consideration.

1. The Bad state of trade & publick credit.

2^d. The unequal share of the Burden of the war unnecessarily & partially laid upon England.

3^d. The villainous & wicked design of continuing the war apparent from many particulars, which debate might end perhaps in resolutions to the following purpose

That there was a wicked design of continuing the war by refusing the just & honorable conditions offered by France, as to what regarded the confederates in generall and by demanding such as were impossible.

That this design appeared further by neglecting the opportunity of making peace during the bad state of France by reason of the famine in the year 1709.

That the attacking France when his frontier was strongest & his garrisons most numerous was more like a design to envelope the Dutch territories than to putt an end to the war, for if the taking of Landweg was of such importance why was it not attempted sooner.

That the refusing the conditions offered by the Fr. King at Getrudenburg whereby he obliged himself to evacuate Spain & to assist with his money towards the reduction of it, was the immediate occasion of the misfortunes that happened to our army in Spain after the victory of Saragossa.

That in generall there being but three possible cases, the beating K. Philip out of Spain, making a separate peace with Spain, or continuing the war, the neglecting the first and refusing the second must necessarily throw us into the third.

Another Branch of the enquiry ought to be the restless endeavours of the party to break off the present Treaty of peace, which exposed in a true light would render the faction very odious particularly on the Dutch refusing to join with us in the cessation of arms, perhaps some resolutions might be formed to the following purpose.

That the delivery of the important fortress of Dunkirk into her majesty's hands was a just equivalent for a two months' cessation of arms, & that no service could be performed by the Army during that time of greater importance, & that if the ministry had advyced her Majesty to refuse it upon these terms as a pledge for the performance of the Articles stipulated by France they would have justly incurred the censure of this house.

That the procuring the important Fortress of Dunkirk to be putt into

her Majesty's hands as a pledge for the performance of Articles, etc, was a safe & honourable measure for which the ministry deservd the thanks of this house.

That all those who endeavoured by secret practices to hinder the Dutch from entering into the cessation of Arms with the Queen or to persuade them to separate their troops from those of her majesty and to seduce the foreign troops in her majesty's pay from their obedience to her Generall did by such practices manifestly endanger the breaking of the Grand Alliance to the great danger of the kingdom & the protestant religion & the breaking off the present treaty which her majesty was advysed to carry on by both houses of parliament, & rendering the war afterwards impracticable, if it had been necessary, and for such their wicked practices are enemys to the Queen and Kingdom.

As to the exception against the present treaty of continuing Spain in a Branch of the house of Bourbon many things are to be said.

The impossibility of reducing the Spaniards by force or seducing them from K. Philip which after so many unsuccessfull & ruinous attempts to England was a design fit to be abandond.

That if K. Philip had been induced to quit Spain there was danger of his renewing his pretensions at a favourable opportunity either in his own name or that of the prince of Asturias, which considering the alledgeance sworn by the Spaniards, their affections to him with the force of France to back them would have given a great probability of success to that which has been allways reckoned the very bugbear of all Europe the union of the two Monarchys of France and Spain in one person.

That considering the great and unusual Mortality of the royal family of France there was some danger of King Philip's falling by natural succession to the throne of France even during the war, which was another way whereby the so much dreaded event of the union of the two Monarchys might have happend, and for that reason the Ministers have acted with great prudence in advysing her Majesty to procure as soon as possible mutual renuncations from the successors to those two Monarchys.

That if it were allowed that no renunciation is of itself a sufficient security yet a renunciation of the Monarchy of France by King Philip is as valid quatenus a renunciation upon the supposition of his continuing in Spain as a renunciation of the Monarchy of Spain would have been upon his leaving it.

That the renunciation of France seems rather the better for the following reason—

Because it is the concern of every single Branch of the house

of Bourbon to keep King Philip from succeeding to the French Monarchy and contrary to the interest of the Spaniards to assist him if he should violate his most sacred oath of renunciation, and therefore the present scheme of peace seems the best that human prudence could contrive to hinder the union of the two Monarchys being it executes itself.

Then it will be thought necessary to look into the severall advantages that Brittain has by this treaty & compare them with the advantages stipulated by former treatys for which her Majesty ought to have particular thanks.

IV

(V B 4)

SATYRE

*Nouvelle faite par MONSIEUR BOILEAU, Contre les Monopoleurs,
Le 16^e jour d'Aoust, 1698.*

Ecrit de la main de MONS^r. BOILEAU.

Que je me trouve heureux d'avoir reçu naissance
D'un père qui prit soin d'élever mon enfance,
Et qui par ses conseils et ses sages avis
M'inspira des desseins que j'ai toujours suivis.
Quant on a pour exemple un si Vertueux père,
Nos mœurs en ont toujours l'aimable caractère,
Tous les bons sentimens que nous en recevons
Nous demeurent toujours tandis que nous vivons,
L'arbre qu'on a ployé dès la tendre jeunesse,
Retient les mêmes plis dans l'extrême vieillesse ;
Et ce qu'on nous inspire en sortant du berceau,
Naissant comme avec nous, nous suit jusqu'au tombeau.
C'est de ses premiers ans que l'on m'a fait comprendre
Que pour bien vivre heureux, il ne faut que s'entendre,
Qu'il faut se contenter de ce qu'on peut avoir
Et que pour être heureux on n'a qu'à le vouloir.
Cette façon d'agir que j'ai toujours suivie
M'a fait vivre en repos tout le temps de ma vie.
Je ne murmure point de tout ce que je voy
Qu'on crée en un matin cent conseillers du Roi,
Qu'on élève un faquin à ce glorieux titre,
Je n'en suis point jaloux n'en étant point l'arbitre,
Quoi ! Le soin, dira-t-on de voir si le pavé
Devant chaque bourgeois est net et bien lavé,
De nettoyer les rues, d'y mettre des lanternes,
Et d'aller contrôler dans toutes les tavernes,

D'en faire le rapport, n'est-ce pas un emploi
Qui mérite le nom de conseiller du Roi ?
J'en demeure d'accord, tout est possible en France :
D'un laquais on peut faire un homme d'importance,
D'un corps de Barabas celui d'un grand béat,
Et d'un homme de rien un grand homme d'état.
Le sort gouverne tout, mais il a son caprice ;
Le bas d'un haut sommet est un grand précipice :
Plus on est près des Dieux, si l'on fait un faux pas
Plus la chute qu'on fait nous précipite en bas :
Il vaut mieux ce me semble un peu plus de distance :
Si l'on est moins heureux l'on a plus d'assurance.
Ces gens que Le Soleil envisage toujours
Pour en être plus près n'ont pas les plus beaux jours.
La foudre rarement tombe en plate campagne :
Il s'arrête bien plus au haut d'une montagne.
Le jonc sait déjouer la fureur du vent,
Et l'orme qui résiste en est brisé souvent.
Tous les bruits éclatants que forme le tonnerre
Ne sont que les enfants des vapeurs de la terre.
Les choses que l'on voit les plus proches des cieux
Avant que d'y monter étaient en ces bas lieux.
Cette même vapeur quant il fait une pluie
Retombe aux mêmes lieux dont elle était sortie.
Et l'on voit aisément qu'une chose retient
Les mêmes qualités des lieux d'où elle vient.
Qu'un roturier s'élève à la magistrature,
Son âme malgré lui sent toujours la roture.
Qu'on fasse d'un faquin un conseiller du Roi
Il se souvient toujours de son premier emploi.
Depuis que dans Paris les charges sont venales,
Qu'on gagne par l'argent les plus fortes cabales,
Le vice a triomphé de toute la vertu :
Le fourbe est au-dessus, et le sage abattu.
Quiconque a de l'argent pour avoir un office
On ne regarde plus les vingt ans de service,
Pourvu que l'on possède La Parole ou de quoi
On sera fait gendarme à la maison du Roi,
Un pagnote aujourd'hui sera fait capitaine :
Un âne sera chef d'une cour souveraine :

Et tel dans un procès sera fait rapporteur
 Qui pour se bien conduire à besoin d'un tuteur.
 En un mot, l'argent fait plus que tout le mérite —
 N'avez-vous point d'argent tout le monde vous quitte.
 Etes-vous opulent, chacun vous fait la cour.
 L'or fut à Jupiter un secret en amour.
 Le même or est encore aujourd'hui dans la France
 Le plus fin des secrets, et le plus d'importance.
 Par lui seul en ce temps on vient au bout de tout ;
 L'innocent* est coupable et le coupable absout :
 Quand un homme a du bien chacun lui porte envie,
 Et pour le lui ravir on recherche sa vie.
 On va dans un endroit feuilleter † des contracts
 Pour voir s'il n'a pas pris des titres qu'il n'a pas.
 S'il s'est dit écuyer aussitôt on l'assigne :
 On lui fait déclarer son nom, son origine.
 Sur la moindre vétille on lui fait un procès.
 On l'assigne à Paris, il faut venir exprès,
 Et chacun n'ayant pas le loisir de le faire.
 On donne de l'argent pour se tirer d'affaire.
 Si vous n'en avez pas on vous fait condamner :
 Et l'on sait malgré vous vous en faire donner.
 Dans Paris l'on se sert d'un plus bel artifice.
 On pince le bourgeois sous ombre de police.
 Pour un coin de fagot, ou pour un peu de foin
 Que l'on n'aura pas mis en un petit recoin
 On vous fait assigner et le juge de Bran
 Vous condamne à la mande, et puis bourgeois va-t'en.
 Enfin, pauvre bourgeois, tout conspire à ta perte :
 Les grands pour te ruiner y vont à force ouverte.

• • • • •
 Qui parle par sentence et non pas par arrêt :
 Ceux qui n'ont pas enfin ces suprêmes puissances
 Sous les fausses couleurs sauvent les apparences.
 Sous l'ombre de vouloir servir tous les bourgeois
 On fait une police, on établit des loix
 Le prétexte est toujours une fort belle chose :
 Mais moi qui par essai sait connoître la cause,

* La justice.

† Recherche des titres de noblesse chez M^{re} Les No^{tes}.

Qui voit bien que ces loix que l'on veut établir
 Sont faites tout exprès afin de les punir.
 Tous les commandements qu'un juge vous fait faire
 C'est afin de taxer ceux qui font le contraire ;
 Et le juge serait dans le dernier dépit—
 Si le bourgeois faisait les choses comme il dit—
 Quiconque y manque un peu fait des fautes bien grandes
 On le met aussitôt en de grosses amandes.
 Mais au profit de qui ? Ma foi, je n'en sçai rien
 Ce juge et l'amandier vous en instruiraient bien.
 Ils sont associés suivant toute apparence,
 Ou bien s'ils ne le sont, ils sont d'intelligence.
 C'est un secret mystère, et si je m'y connois,
 Ils profitent tous deux des fautes du bourgeois.
 Cette invention-là ne vient pas d'une beste ;
 Et pour taxer chacun le prétexte est honneste.
 Ce moyen est honeste et d'un assez bon sens
 L'on taxa vendredy jusqu'à six mille francs.
 Si cela continue il faut qu'on se console.
 Ce ne sera pas là le dernier monopole.
 Tous les donneurs d'avis ne sont pas encor morts.
 Sy ceux de Saint Ignace* ont des droits sur nos ports,
 Sy chaque muid leur doit pour élever leur temple,
 Tous les autres couvens n'ont-ils pas bon exemple ?
 François ne vaut-il pas autant que Loyola ?
 Et doit-on faire mieux à ceux-cy qu'à ceux-la ?
 Dès que les mandians furent soufferts en France,
 Le crédule bourgeois s'ouvrit à leur dépense.
 Ces adroits fainéans ont mille inventions
 Pour nous faire donner certaine pensions,
 Et quatre grands convents† pleins de cette canaille
 Mettent adroitement les bourgeois à la taille.
 Un gros frère quêteur plus exact qu'un rentier
 S'en vient à point nommé recevoir son quartier,
 Et lorsqu'il a reçu l'aumône qu'il demande,
 Il paye vostre don, d'un grand dieu vous le rende
 On croiroit à le voir comme il croise ‡ ses bras,

* Les jésuites.

† Les quatre mandians.

‡ Sans la dévotion.

Comme il baisse les yeux, et conduit tous ses pas,
 Comme il scait composer sa voix et son visage,
 Que sitost qu'on est moine il faut que l'on soit sage.
 Mais tout est contrefait, tout est fardé chez eux,
 Ils sont tous opulens et feignent d'estre gueux,
 Et malgré la couleur d'une feinte indigence
 Il fait meilleur chez eux qu'en aucun lieu de France.
 Les moynes en tous temps ont leurs dépens payés
 Sans faire aucun travail ils sont tous defrayés
 Enfin je ne vois rien plus fainéant qu'un moine.
 Je lisois autrefois que le bon Saint Antoine
 Se plaisait à nourrir certains pourceaux chez luy :
 *Saint François, Saint Thomas, sont de même aujourd'huy.
 Et le plus petit saint dans le temps où nous sommes
 Nourrit plus de pourceaux que nostre Roy n'a d'hommes.
 Chaque saint a sa bande et sa marque † a son coin
 Afin que son troupeau ne se dissipe point.
 Certains troupeaux d'entre eux ont la barbe de chèvre,¹
 Et d'autres² n'ont jamais aucun poil sur la lèvre.
 L'un se trouve fort bien quand il est comme un ours,
 Et l'autre³ prend plaisir à se raser toujours.
 L'un est comme un corbeau,⁴ l'autre comme une pie.
 L'un porte des habits⁵ qui s'en vont en charpie.
 Et va toujours nuds pieds, l'autre a de bons habits
 L'un⁶ est blanc, l'autre noir, et l'autre sera gris⁷
 En un mot, chaque bande est différemment mise.
 L'un n'a point de chapeau, l'autre,⁸ point de chemise.
 L'un⁹ n'a point de souliers dans la rigueur du froid,
 L'autre ne voudroit pas souffrir de mal au doit.
 L'un porte une besace et plus fin qu'un boème
 Attrape le bourgeois par une adresse extrême.
 L'un a d'autres moyens pour attraper du bien,
 Et le meilleur d'entre eux bien souvent ne vaut rien.
 Le quinquina se vend chez eux de Saint Ignace ‡
 § Le frère ange a cent fois trompé la populace :
 Le frère Valerien a d'une quintessance

* Les Cordeliers.

† Liste des Religieux.

‡ M. les jésuites.

§ Capucin.

¹ Les
capucins.

² Mes de
St^e Croix
de la bre-
tonnerie.

³ Les Pré-
montrés.

⁴ Les
petits
pères de la
place des
victoires.

⁵ Les
feuillants.

⁶ Les
chartreux.

⁷ Les
minimes.

⁸ Les
Carmes,
les Char-
treux, les
Capucins,
et autres.

⁹ Les
Carmes
deschaux.

Qui guérit de tous maux même de l'impuissance.
 Il en sait cent fois plus que Crayer et Vallot,
 Et le plus habile homme après luy n'est qu'un sot.
 Enfin quest-ce qu'un moine ? un animal à craindre,
 Un adroit fainéant, un homme qui sçait feindre,
 Un fourbe, un charlatan, un rusé courtisan,
 Un grand donneur d'avis, un fameux partisan,
 Un brigueur d'évêché, un affamé de crosse,
 Un débiteur d'onguent, un homme de négoces
 Un vendeur de castor, de blanc, de quinquina,
 Un traître à son monarque, et pis que tout cela,
 *Témoin, ce scélérat, ce perfide, ce traître,
 Cet homme aussy méchant qu'aucun autre puisse estre,
 Ce démon infernal, ce perfide assassin
 Qui dans le sang Royal oes tremper sa main,
 N'estoit-ce pas un moine ? Lequel autre homme en France
 A moins que d'estre moine auroit cette insolence ?
 Les moines en un mot sont des gens dangereux ;
 Le plus sur est toujours de se méfier d'eux.
 Ils entreprenent tout, et tout leur est possible.
 Ils sçavent la chicanne † aussy bien que la bible.
 Leur père procureur, plus fourbe que Rollet,
 A tous les plus fripons préféroit Lecollet.
 Lorsqu'il vend quelque bien ce n'est pas sans surprise.
 Il sçait comme l'on ventre en tous les biens d'église.
 S'il y trouve son bon, le bonhomme s'y tient.
 S'il ne l'y trouve pas le caprice luy vient,
 Et malgré cent décrets et les soins de notaires,
 Qui contracte avec eux a toujours des affaires.
 Pour moi je fuis un moine autant qu'un partisan :
 L'un et l'autre à mon sens est toujours malfaisant :
 Que l'un puisse attraper une mitre, une crosse,
 Que l'autre dans Paris fasse rouler carrosse.
 Ces honneurs et ces biens ne me peuvent tenter :
 D'un petit revenu je me sçais contenter.

BOILEAU.

Defendu par M. de Pontchartrain de l'imprimer, et de la montrer.

* Un des jacobins, lequel donna trois coups de poignards à son Roy.

† Les jésuites.

V

(V D 6)

June 19th 1698.

My Lord Portland left Paris and went to Chantilli where He was very well received and treated by the P: of Condé: the diversion of the Days was riding out in the Mornings to see the beauties the place affords, hunting the Wild boar in the afternoon and Musick and dancing at Night: the Meat and Wine was better than any thing I have seen in France: and the P: extreamly courteous to Every body.

21:

My Lord left Chantilli, his Ex: left 50 Louis d'or with Me to distribute among the Serv^{ts} which accordingly I did and returned the same day to Paris: I found my Lord Clare in the same lodgings I had at Paris, the Landlord told Me that Lord was only come to town the Night before, and designed to go away that Night, but He did not go 'till a Night after: I conveyed away some papers of consequence and Mony I had in the house, least the Irish Banditti that waited on my lord might have a mind to it, and I gave order to my Ser^{ts} not to interfere with or speak to these people: so his Lordsp and his followers went away quietly, and nothing happened upon their Coming.

The King of france asked the Bishop de Noyon how he liked the Camp at Compiègne the prelat replied Sire c'est une fort belle Opera.

The Ambassad^r did not go to the Camp because *pour* was not written upon their apartments.

Sep: 29th 1698.

There can be no thing so ridiculous as the behaviour of the Court of france. the King in the morning gives a private audience to my Lord Jersey in which answering my lords complement he assures him of his sincere friendsp to his Maj^{ty} of England: and that he will do his utmost endeavour to preserve the peace inviolable: he talks att Noon again with his Ex: with all

easiness and freedom, and in the Evening at 6 receives K: J: h: s Queen, the P: of Wales and all the Court of St Germain.

O Quantum est in rebus inane! the various inquietudes about future wars and the different opinions about the succession to Spain after the sickly Monarch's death whilst the whole affair was all this time composed by a treaty between the Kings of England and France and the States generall.

23 July. 1698.

The treaty was signed at Warsowie between the King of Poland and the 2 parties in Arms in Lituania. and the same day P: Sapieha the grand general gave battel to Oginski. and beat him: so that the battell was fighting whilst the treaty was signing.

Oct: 1.

I had the honour to dine at the Mar: de Villeroy's with the P: of Conti, he talked as easily of his voyage to Poland as if he had succeeded in his enterprise there, he deserves to be a king tho' he is not one.

La devise aux Estandars de la premiere compagnie des Mousquetaires, *quo ruit et letum* c'est une bombe qui tombe sur une ville la devise de la seconde est un trousseau de flèches, *Alterius Jovis altera tela*.

17 Oct.

J'entendis que l'abbé Gondi à present Secrétaire d'Etat du grand duc de Toscane avoit écrit icy qu'il avoit suivi S: M: T: C aux camps de la Saune et de la Sarre en 1688 et qu'on n'avoit point donné le Pour au Marq: de Ferrer Amb: de Savoye comme il l'a assuré positivement.

20 Oct.

I have so much carelessness and indifference in my temper that I think I never was at any Expence for Ostentations sake, or for any pleasure I took in it; and I never avoided any Expence for sparingness or the consideration of what the thing would cost.

28 Oct.

This Week K: J: came to Paris to cure an English Nun of the Evil: i e: to touch her, the Genius of this poor Prince was a good deal showed in that action.

Louvois might have finished the Warr in Savoy by letting the Mar: de Catinat lay seige to Turin, but his politique was to prolong the Warr to render himself more usefull he showed the

King feigned letters as written from Catinet to himself in which that Mar: remonstrated the difficulties of besieging Turin, and desired him to dissuade the Court from the thoughts of it; these letters were found to be counterfeit, and the rage and shame Louvois was in that the King knew the fourbery was the occasion of his death, at least he never appeared satisfied or sedate after this accident, and did not live long after it: this Count Giscar told Me in the Gallery at Versailles.

In Jan: 1699:

If We should have a Warr wth France, the Dukes of Lorrain and Savoy must be gained and the Easiest way of entering into France is thro' the French Comté the plain country passing the river Doux, there is no fortified place but Aussone, wth must be gained, Stores must be bought up before under the name of particular Men by others; under the Notion of transporting it to Mascon and Lyons down the Rhosne. the Suisse upon such an occasion to be treated with by an abler Minister then Cox and not a frenchman born as D'Ervert.

* * * * *

9 feb: N S: 1699.

We heard at Versailles that the El^d Prince of Bavaria dyed the 6th of a fever at Bruxelles.

30 feb:

Mons^r Itre Envoyé from Spain who came from Bruxelles told Me that concerning the Villages depending upon Luxembourg the french would not execute what was stipulated in the peace: m^r d'Itre had urged to the Ministers that it was evident what these dependences were from the List wth Don Quiros the Spanish Ambassad^r at the Congress att Ryswick had given in that these dependences had been examined by the french Plenipotentiaries: but the Ministers presently reply'd their Plenipotentiaries had committed a fault choosing immediately rather to sacrifice their Ambassad^r then want a pretext: Itre urg'd further that the Ministers here at home had seen what the plenipotentiaries had done at Ryswick that they must needs have read it before the King ratified it, that he would not think nor would they have the World think that they were Ignorant or negligent to a point as to lett his majesty ratify what had not been fully consented to: after all this Itre could have no reason from them; and was obliged to say that he must have recourse to the Mediat^r and the

Garands of the Peace. by the Garands he meant those who were comprised in the last Article of the Peace.

In Nov^r 1698.

My Lord Ambassad^r Jersey went as may be seen by my letters and Journal to Holland, being sent for thither by his Maj^{ty} the design of this Voyage was to sign the treaty with Tallard and the Pensioner wth England france and Holland had formed for the Succession of Spain: this treaty had been sent some time before from Holland by my Lord Portland to my Lord Jersey who did Me the honour to lett Me see it, and by this treaty the Electoral Prince of Bavaria is universal heir of all that the present King of Spain possesses except the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily which is to be joyned to France; the Queen of Spain is to be regent in case the King dyes during the Minority of the child: Speculative Men may here ask Questions, why We left france in the Succession to Naples and Sicily and by consequence to the Mastery of the Mediterranean, and to the possession of the turkish, African and Italian trade, I do not pretend to answer but sett down the Matter of fact as I knew it, and that for my own memory and future Satisfaction: but the child dying in february following (as I have remarked) my Lord Jersey had orders frō the King to desire a private audience of this King and to explain in it that the King of England was ready to enter into such Methods as should be for the good of Europe, that he therefore desired his Maj^{ty} (the King of france) to propose what he thought would mostly contribute to that end: the King answered my Lord that he was equally ready as his Maj^{ty} of England was to settle this great affair and had given order to Count Tallard his Ambassad^r at London to say just the same thing from him to the King of England as my Lord Jersey had s^d to him; this Audience my

Feb: 16th 1699. Lord had on Sunday Morning and on the tuesday Morning following my Lord was called into the King's closett where his Maj^{ty} said to him that tho' in the first treaty it was stipulated that in case the El: P: dyed, his father the El^r of Bavaria was to succeed this was only meant in case the Child dyed after his having been possessed of the Crown of Spain, and that this could have no place now; that this P: being a Stranger and haveing no party formed in Spain it was impossible he could ever possess himself of that Crown without much hazard and blood that the Dauphin (his son) was now undoubtedly heir, but that for the

good of Europe he was contented to accomodate the thing so as to content all parties *mais il faut qu'on me contente ainsi*, he added, and concluded that the Mapp must be looked into: and referred him to the Ministers for the particulars after having said that Milan ought to [be] joyned to his part: the Ministers repeated and explained what the King their Master had said and my Lord wrote by express the substance of these conferences into England.¹

Wednesday. the $\frac{28}{18}$ Oct^r 1699.

I came from holland with his Majesty having obtained leave about a Month before to come from france by the way of Holland, in this voyage my Lord Jersey had communicated to Me more plainly what before I knew but imperfectly, that we were making a treaty with france and the States gen^{al} for the Succession of Spain, and on friday my lord told Me that the treaty not having been signed whilst His Maj^{ty} was in Holland, Count Tallard (who at His Maj^{ties} quitting Holland had likewise left that Country having desired the K: his Master to give him leave to return for some time into France upon his own private occasions) might possibly give some ill Impressions to the K: of france, as if the treaty would be broke off by the K: of England or that His Maj^{ty} would not use his utmost interest that it should be perfected: that for this reason I must go immediately for france and that I was to take my Instructions on this Subject from the King: accordingly I had an audience that day at 12 before dinner of the K: in his Clossett, no body being by but his Maj^{ty} and my L^d Jersey, the King instructed Me very particularly in what I was to do, commanded Me to go to my L^d Portland to read the treaty (as it was then concerted) and to make what hast I could to Paris: I did wait on my L^d Portland accordingly that afternoon, and having received my Instructions a second time from my L^d Jersey I went post the next day for Dover.

Sunday November the first.

In the Evening I embarked in the packet boat & the next morning about 10 arrived at Calais, I arrived that Night at Montreuil, got the next to S^t. Juste where the night being stormy and Rainy I staid 4 hours, and setting out at three in y^e morning arrived at My Lord Manchesters house about Eleven. I imparted

¹ Here is a Casme to be supplied by reading in the 3^d leaf from hence March the 5: 1699 and so on.

to my Lord the occasion of my coming, the Court was at Marly and to stay there 10 days longer. His Excellence Sent M^r Stanyan with a L^{re} to Mon^r de Torcy desiring the favour of a private audience to which Monsieur de Torcy replied that it was a thing never yet granted, nor cou'd be because of the Consequences since other ministers wou'd always pretend to it, And that my Lord cou'd not have this Audience sooner than when the Court shoud return from Marli to Versailles (which was to be the Saturday Se'night after) That he (Torcy) shou'd be in Town the Tuesday following, to Give Audience to the Ministers as usual on that Day and wou'd Speak there with My Lord Ambassador Accordingly.

Tuesday the 10 November.

My Lord Manchester went to Monsieur de Torcy who again excused my Lords not having an Audience, and went on to say it was usual for the Minister here to be acquainted with what the Ambassador had to propose That y^e King might be a little prepared for it, My Lord let him thus far into the thing That the Subject of it was the business of the Succession of Spain, That the King of England desired nothing with more Sincerity than a happy Conclusion of that Affair, Mons^r de Torcy promised to procure him the Audience for Saturday, But

November the 12th

Sent him word the Thursday that it cou'd not possibly be that Day His Majestyes Hours being all taken up but gave Him his Choice either for Sunday Morning,

Novemb the 13. . .

or, Munday, My Lord chose Sunday Morning (tho' his Audience was to be that Day) And accordingly His Excell^y & my self went on Saturday Night in a Berlyn Privately & my Lord had his Audience of the King on Sunday morning, after the Levée and returned before 12 to his own House at Paris, from whence he went to Rambouillet &c.

The 17th

I went from Paris. And arrived at London the 20th.

The 21st

I had an Audience of His Majesty and delivered to Him the whole state of the matter particularly the Substance of what His Excellency said to His most Christian Majesty and the King of France's Answer there unto, which follow hereafter.

March 5th 1699.

Br——e told me that Chanluis usually went home with K: J: from Marli entertained him by order frō the King of france of all that We had done and said at Versailles.

That Pontchartrain had said that they depended very much upon what this Parliament should do, and that Tallard distributed considerable Summs of Mony in England.

Ap: 28:

I saw the old Cardinal d'Etrées at 6 in the morning knocking at Madame Maintenon's door to ask how she had rested that Night.

In May.

Being at the Dutchesse of Portsmouth's and talking of the Comtesse of Auvergne who had been at Paris about a Week, I said She was that day at Church at mons^r Heemskerk the Dutch Ambassad^r the Comtesse de Bevron who was at Ombre and probably thinking more of her cards then what She said; quoy donc, dit Elle, la comtesse d'Auvergne n'est elle pas encore Catholique?

A reflexion.

The K: acted like a great Politician in letting K: J: be so negligently guarded that He made his escape. by which his way to the throne was easier, and that too without contradicting his own declaration, for upon K: J's leaving the Nation, proceeded the Abdication and vacancy of the throne, K: J: cast himself into the hands of the Enemyes of his Country, and justified in great measure the suspicions that were against him upon that acc^t a great many that were for him before, grew cold in his interest from the fear and hatred they had of his being restored by a french power, and the whole body of the Nation begged the P: to accept the crown, whereas if K: J: had stayed they might have thought of some expedients of reconciliation: in this case the P: would have made an useless figure, and not have answered the design He came for, nor have made the figure necessary for him who was to be at the head of the Allyes armyes, and to work out the peace of Europe: and if he had been chosen K: by K: J's having been tryed and condemned, the people would have gained too much upon the power of the Monarchy in general, and he would have sullyed his glory in the blood of his uncle and father-in-law; besides K: J: once removed, and consequently the fears

of the English dispersed, who could have answered for their fickleness and inconstancy? how far they would have entered into the warr or how soon they would have been weary of it?

Aug^d the 5th

My Lord Manchester arrived at Paris and had the 17th a private audience of the K: of france: one expression of the King's to him was remarkable, qu'il feroit tout avec le Roy d'Angleterre pour la tranquillité de l'Europe et quil iroit même au devant de ce que le roy proposeroit pour cet effet.

At the same time that my Lord had this audience I took my leave: the Monarch as he is naturally well bred was very civil to me, his complement was that there was no doubt but that I was going home to some honourable Employment for that every body had told him I deserved it, he say'd he hoped to see Me again in France in some higher Character: and when I thanked him for the favours I had received during my stay in France he

Letters answered that he was pleased that I was satisfied with them. I
from Fr: had a letter frō m^r de Torsi to my Lord Jersey in answer to my
p: 375. Lord's to Him, by w^{ch} I was recalled.

Aug: 28: 1699.

I left Paris, lay that Night at Peron, the next day dined at Cambray, lay at Valenciennes, this Place being a Frontier I was at my coming in brought before the Governor Mons^r Magalotti he soon discharged the Officer that Brought me Received me very kindly and Lodged me in his own House he affected at Supper to talk a great deal in Commendation of the King of England but for all this My Lord Melford had dined with him the same day in his way to the waters of S^t Amand and was just gone when I arrived; The Poor Protestants I found were more than ever Watch't upon the Frontiers, the Officers whilst I was with Magalotti, brought the Names and Characters of some persons whom they had Seized the Persons were committed to Prison, & their Names sent up to Monsieur de Barbesieux in Order to have the King of France's pleasure known how each particular person was to be disposed of.

I came the next Night (Sunday) to Bruxelles, Stayed there all Monday, left the place on Tuesday Morning, & came that Night to Antwerp.

September 1st

To Rotterdam where I arrived very late between two and

three in the morning. I was in great danger Crossing the Maeze in a little Boat which I wou'd do rather than Lye on the other side y^e remaining part of that Night, it was with Difficulty that I cou'd get any body to Cross with Me, at last One Fellow did and in a very little Boat, it rained, and before we were in the middle of the River a Sudden Storm of Lightning and Thunder lik't to have lost Us, at last We got in among the Ships on the side of Rotterdam, the Storm abated, and I got the Bomb opened.

the 2^d

4^t

I stayed at Rotterdam, reach't Amersford the next day, And came to Loo the 4th. Immediately after my Arrival I kissed the King's hand, My Lord Albemarle presented me, His Majesty received Me very kindly in Gene^l Terms, and continued to Speak to Me every day telling Me, That, I must have patience for he intended to speak with Me in private.

the 10.

The King sent to Me and gave Me a Private Audience in his Bed Chamber, I was with Him about an hour & half, He questioned me very particularly about y^e State of Affairs in france, and went Leisurly over most things that had passed there, during the Embassy's of my Lord Portland, My Lord Jersey, and (now) the beginning of My Lord Manchesters; He did me the Honour to tell Me That he was Satisfied with My Services, that I was Obligated to my Lords Portland, Jersey and Albermarle, And upon this occasion he Said I had done well not to enter blindly into all the Sentiments of my Lord Portland as some other People had done I only said that I was his Majesties Secretary That I had reason to respect My Lord Portland as representing His Majesty, and that his private Sentiments not at all relating to the Embassy, I had nothing to do with them, In the conclusion His Majesty Said he wou'd take care of me And bid me go to the Hague and stay there 'till My Lord Jersey came from England, he bid me see My Lord Portland, and the Pensioner who would tell Me what I was to do.

11th

I left Loo and came accordingly to the Hague.

September 1699.

12.

I saw my Lord Portland at Zurfleet, and the next day I saw the Pensioner, but neither of them Spoke to Me about Bus'ness, except in General Terms; My Lord Jersey arrived 3 days after, I went with Him to Loo.

October 12th

28th My Lord and I returned to the Hague, We came over to England with the King and it was about the 28 That my Lord Jersey told me the whole Affaire of the Treaty, and His Majesties Orders What I was to do therein.

Whilst I was at Paris my Lord Galway wrote the civilest letters imaginable to Me, but when I came to his Maj^{ty} at Loo I found first frō my L^d Albemarle, and at the Hague by L^d Jersey that Galway would not suffer my being Secretary in Ireland: and it appeared that Galway had written to the King a letter in which He had inclosed One I had wrote to him and commented upon it that it was impossible for Him to serve if I was continued Secretary and that He had written to Me a letter bearing date the same day as that letter to His Majesty in which He expressed a great sincerity of friendship, and a violent Impatience to embrace Me at Dublin.

at Mid-summer 1700. The King told me at Loo that He designed I should be with my L^d Jersey in the Secretary office, that his affairs would require my being at home as his Maj^{ty} expressed it, and that instead of Ireland He would give Me an equivalent till he provided for Me, His Maj^{ty} upon m^r Lock's laying down his place of Com^r of Trade in June following I was named for His Successor.

The ancients having conquered their Enemies hung up the Shields and Arms w^{ch} they had taken from them upon some of the neighbouring trees; as a Mark of their honour and of shame to the vanquished; and as soon as the peace was made these were taken away; as pride and magnificence encreased these trophies were made in Marble or brass and remained to after ages; Plutarch blames this custom [as] ¹inhuman and barbarous, and what as well gave the Vanquished a constant remembrance of their misfortunes as inspired them with a desire of revenge: what would the honest Philosopher have said if he had seen Trophies in Bronze representing a Prince passing a River who stayed on the other side whilst his troops passed, or charging in battells where he never appeared.

One sees a great many women in France that will grant the favour and but few abandoned whores like ours in England; the

¹ MS. and.

reason of this is, that We give no quarter to a Woman who has fallen, her friends turn her out, and she has nothing but Sin to live upon, so grows loud not possibly so much for passion as for bread; whereas in france a Slipp of this kind is a Gallantry, and the middling sort of Women, tho' in these cases they may lose their reputations a little find them again in marrying some good Man who enquires not to very nicely provided he getts some beauty and some Mony w^{ch} a Man of better quality may have left.

November 12th 1699.

I returned into His Majesties presence, and the next Morning gave Him an Account of what I was entrusted with, so the Treaty was on foot again. Between this time and the middle of January following, I had so ill health that I cou'd do very little relating to public Business, As I grew better I was employed in looking over and Adjusting some Articles of the Treaty, and drawing up Pleinpouvoirs for the Earls of Portland and Jersey to Sign it, And in going to My Lord Chancellor Sommers in Order to have the Broad Seal sett to the Rattification of it.

1699

1700

February 23 Old Stile 3 March New Stile.

The Treaty Separate and Secret Article were Signed at London between Us and the french;

25 f.

Between Us, the French and the Dutch

N.B.—The Same Numerical Articles were Signed by the three Parties, for which reason The Dutch Signed it twice, viz^t: The Treaty, The Separate and secret Articles to Us, in which Wee were Named first, The same to the french in which they were named first and Consequently they took two Reciprocal Articles One from Us and One from the french just the same as they gave. We Gave the french Our Ratifications viz^t: Three Instruments under the Great Seal of England in which We are named first and the Kings title at Length viz; *King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the faith &c* And the King of france is only named His Most Christian Majesty and We took their Ratification under the Great Seal of France in which the King is only Named King of Great Britain and the King of France is named King of France and Navarre.

As to my own private Concern the King was pleased to

promise my Lord Jersey that He wou'd take care of me Order'd me to Continue in my Lords Office and gave me an Additional Allowance upon the foot of 600 Pound a Year 'till he shou'd please to dispose of me otherwise which he did about Midsummer after.

In June 1700.

Before His Majesty went to Holland My Lord Abemarle told me that His Majesty wou'd provide for me And that as he understood it His Majesty wou'd continue me the Allowance already mentioned And add me to the Commission of Trade so that when ever there was a Vacancy it might be answered That the place was already Supplied But towards the latter end of y^e Month M^r Lock had a private Audience of the King and at His coming out I was told that he had quitted the Commission of Trade and I was Congratulated by every Body as his Successor I know not upon what motive M^r Lock did this, Nor how kind his

28 June. Majesty was to me in the thing: But on sunday the 28th of June My Lord Jersey told me from the King that I might Address my Self to M^r Secretary Vernon for a warrant to have a New Commission drawn up and my own Name incerted in it and about an hour after as the King came out of his Closet thro' the Appartments at Hampton Court to Chappel My Lord Jersey presented me to kiss His Hand for the Employ^{mt}. My Lord Jersey being Lord Chamberlain the Rooms from the Drawing room are under his Direction this was the reason that I staid 'till the King came into these Rooms because if I had kissed his Hand in the Bed Chamber, I must have been presented by One of the Lords of the Bedchamber, this I mention because of a good deal of talk that arose upon it which is not fit to be Committed to writing.

I waited on the King to Margate: My Lord Jersey was left in the Regence, but went some time after his Majesty to Holland: His Lords^{ps} Obtain'd the King's leave that I should likewise come for three Weeks or a Month when it was known that I was to go. The Comments and Discourses on my Journy were So Various As That I was to go from my Lord Rochester to My Lord Jersey, That I was to carry over Peoples opinions here in Order to the Dissolution of the Parliament and such kind of Stories That I thought it better wholly to break off the Journey.

The King Return'd from Holland.

We had the News of the King of Spains death.

November 3^d 1700

My Lord Albemarle sent to me to come to Kensington, which accordingly I did, He told Me that the King wou'd send me to the Hague and to Bruxelles with a Secret Errand And That His Majesty wou'd Speak with me in his Closset the next Morning Accordingly I waited, and M^r Secretary Vernon and I being called in, The King spoke to this Effect.

That I needed but very little Instructions from Him having already been acquainted with every Step He had made in the Treaty, That the Case of the King of Spains Death being now arrived in Order to the Treaty being preserved He thought it necessary that I shou'd go to the Elector of Bavaria, that I shou'd let Him know the concern His Majesty was in upon the Electors Account for his Catholic Majesties Death that I should promise Him in General Terms that His Majesty wou'd do for Him what ever in reason He cou'd ask ; And when the Elector Shou'd come to particulars that I shou'd say That His Majesty wou'd use His utmost Interest Conjointly with the States that things shou'd remain *in statu quo* Till the Emperours Determination upon the Treaty shou'd be known That therefore it was His Majestyes Opinion (As to the Elector his friend) That he shou'd continue to Act in the Governm^t.

That in Case the Elector Spoke to me concerning the Great Debt which is Due to Him from the Crown of Spain (which as His Maj^{ty} said was a Terrible Circumstance to the poor Elector and of which He wou'd Infallibly Speak to me) I shou'd promise the Elector that the King wou'd stand by Him in seeing it paid And to this End the King Ordered me to Go by the way of Holland to tell the Pensionaire the whole Affair upon which I was sent and to take my Measures from Him that I might say the same thing As from the States which I said from the King But I was to take care that I promised no more on the Kings part than the Pensionaire thought fit I shou'd do from the States.

I was likewise to show the Elector the Secret Article and to assure Him from the King and the States supposing the Pensionaire to Consent to the latter of which the King did not doubt That in Case the Emperour did not come into the Treaty in the 2 months therein proposed His Electoral Highness Shou'd be the Prince whom the King and the states wou'd Nominate as King of Spain According to the Power which they have by the Article For

the next I was to Hear what the Elector said in General of the present State of things to write from Bruxelles and Receive His Majesties further Orders there.

Novemb 5th

The next day an Express arrived from France with a long Lre from My Lord Manchester to my Lord Jersey to inform him that the Spanish Amb^r at Paris having communicated to that Court that the King of Spain had by Will appointed the Duke of Anjou His successor and that in case france did not accept the proposition the Crown of Spain shou'd go to the Arch Duke and in Case he refused it, To the Duke of Savoy His Most Christian Majesty thought good that the Duke of Anjou shou'd accept the proposal And that He accordingly wou'd see the Will performed and agreed that the Duke of Anjou should be King of Spain. That the Original Design and Intent of the Treaty being to secure the Peace & quiet of Europe, His most Christian Majesty thought that end wou'd be rather Compassed by the Will than by the Treaty it self &c^o.

I waiting therefore upon M^r Secretary Vernon was told by Him that He thought this sudden change of Affairs wou'd make a change in my Orders But that all He knew of it yet was That I shou'd know the Kings further pleasure in some few Hours Accordingly I was ordered to wait on my Lord Albemarl at My Lord Jerseys where the King dined that Day and was told by these 2 Lords That I was not to go as was Intended.

About 3 days after His Majesty had some thoughts of sending M^r Hill to Bruxelles as being personally known to the Elector, but upon farther Considerations that thought was likewise laid aside.

It is Observable that Schonenburg who had hitherto the Reputation of being well inform'd of what was done in Spain knew nothing of this last great Transaction of the Will. I take this Occasion to sett down That from the time the Treaty was Ratified 'till this time there were some other proposals on foot One particularly with which the french had seemingly complied which was That the Duke of Savoy shou'd have Naples and Sicilly and the french in Exchange shou'd have Savoy and Piedmont this I take to have been an Admirable proposal and a great Instance of the Kings Wisdom Since it wou'd take off all Objections which Our Merchants cou'd have as the Hazard of their Levant Trade and

tho' it did Augment the Dominions of France that augmentation Signified nothing to Us and Holland and if any discontent arose upon it It must be between Italy & France and consequently excite either the Pope and the Italian Princes or the Emperour and probably both One and t'other against France in which case that Crown must be armed on that side and consequently must be less strong on the side of Flanders.

Aug. 20 : 1702.

I have met with such Ingratitude and found so ill returns in the World that makes Me have so vile an opinion of Mankind in general that in some humours I persuade my Self that my friendship wth my L^d Jersey will one day break and I prepare my Self as it were for It ; tho' I have no reason for any such thought from any action of my Lord to Me ; and tho' in Justice I ought to be blamed for the Wildness of this Imagination.

I have cryed twenty times upon forming the imagination of my L^d Jersey dead, while He was yet in good health.

June 24. 1703.

Midsommer day happened the greatest private affliction to Me that I ever was sensible of, tho' I did not know it till 4 days after : and the next day I had an affliction of the same kind (more Domestic) which both made Me so Melancholy that Life was a burthen to Me for a long time :

* * * * *

Reflecting about this time upon my own life I concluded that however I had mistaken the path of life proper for Me I was not born for a Courtier being in my temper too passionate and too open in my conversation.

Oct^r. 20 1708.

Sholar Olim had a good deal of discourse with Hali Bergen, in w^{ch} the latter lett fall that the Sophy Oran had told him that Gomez Cesar Mari had proposed to the Sophy that Jay-bon-Jay should ride upon his white Elephant.

The 2^d or 3^d of Jan^r. 170⁸₉

In a visit to L^d Hallifax in w^{ch} I wished him a good new Year and talked to him of Indifferent things I at last spoke to him concerning my own affairs, I told him that for above 2 years before I had spoken to S^r Ja: Montagu, and for more then a Year before to himself to desire him to do Me a piece of Justice w^{ch} was

as occasion might serve to lett the Dutchesse of Marleborough know that I had never writt or been contributing to any Mans writing any thing ag^t her Grace or her famliy wth might have given her the least occasion of offence: I asked my L^d if he ever had performed this commission from Me. he was out of countenance and said he had not found a convenient opportunity, at the same time he was repeating to Me his own discontents and saying how We should live at Bushey park, and that if he could but see Me restored he would not care for any thing further, is this a great Man?

The 31 of Dec^r 1704 or New Years day 170 $\frac{4}{5}$

M^r Sam: Prior told m^r Mason that He had not made any alteration in his Will. M^r Biggs who made that Will told Me so some time before.

5th Jan: 170 $\frac{4}{5}$

M^r James Montagu went to see Mr. Prior, but was denied.

The 2^d or 3^d of Jan

m^r Ian: Burton carryed from me a letter to m^r Sam: Prior, to which m^r Prior promised m^r Burton y^t He would in a day or 2 return Me an answer, but did not.

VI

(IV D 8)

PARIS: 5 Sep^r N.S. 1712.


MY LORD

Lord Bolingbroke I believe was wth you on Saturday, this being Munday I hope before the latter End of the Week to receive your Instructions and proper Means of communicating with you; upon this acc^t I stay at Paris till I may have something to do at Court; and send this by the way of Utrecht: rather to desire your Commands, than to give you any particular mark of my obedience:

The D: d'Aumond, (your Lordsp will have known from L^d. Bolingb:) is named for England: He is a Man of very great Quality and Estate, of the King's bedchamber, Gouverneur of the Bolonnois, and in favour, a man hearty and honest, a bon vivant but not debauched, knowing a good many things without being throughly a Scholar: He has been in Eng: loves us very well, has never been of those who had their habitudes at St. Germaines, and expresses a perfect respect to the Queen: so that I think we are so far obliged to his most C: M: that We having had the Choice could not have fixed it better; He is at Paris preparing for his Embassy wth he intends to be *fort en Cavalier mais fort magnifique*. Your Lordsp may be sure I give him all the assistance, advice and respect that I ought, and have contracted a friendship with him and given him such Ideas of our people as may sett him right in his Notions and acquaintance in Eng:

I have seen the Ministers as they have happened to come to Paris, and in general discourse find them in great Impatience for the conclusion of the Peace.

As to the forrein Ministers L^d Bol^{ke} will have told your Lordsp that the D: d'Ossune is a person whom no mortal Man can understand or describe: He has a Jargon that never will be French, nor ever was Spanish: He is to go to Utrecht to make the peace there as soon as He is sure it is made here: His Confrère the Marq: de Monteleon is by birth a Milanois, he has seen a good deal, and is pretty well versed in the present state of affairs; they have both visited Me and beg most heartily that Sicily may



remain still to their Monarchy: I dare not write explicitly of this and other things w^{ch} Monteleon mentioned, and things d'Ossune meant: not having a Cypher, and fearing least this letter may be opened: but will do it, when I write directly to England.

I had writ thus far and dated my letter (as your Lordsp sees) the 5th intending my Dispatch for to Morrow, Munday; but am writing it Sunday the $\frac{4 \text{ Sep}^r}{24 \text{ Aug.}}$ 10 before Noon. Dagley is this Moment arrived with the ratification of the Suspension: L^d Dartmouth's orders upon it, and yo^r Lordsp's letter upon w^{ch} I shall go presently to ffontainebleau: immediately upon my L^d Bol: 's return, I expect an other Courier and your Lordsp's more particular commands: him I will send back to Eng: and send Dagley forward to Savoy, as your Lordsp orders: I reckon the other Courier will be here on Wensday, and as your Lordsp having spoke with L^d Bol^{ts} will have given the full Instructions, I shall be enabled to return by the same Courier the answers of this Court. In the mean time I shall advise mons^r de Torcy of the particulars of your Lordsp's letter, and make yo^r Compliments to him, w^{ch} I really believe he will receive very sincerely and joyfully. I have only to add my great acknowledgments of all your favours to Me, and to repeat my being ever

With all possible truth and respect

My Lord

Yo^r Lordsp's most ob^t and most humble Ser^t

M. PRION.

The Gazette à la main here tells that Manwaring is dead: if so may not—Semper Ego Auditor—as It begins a good book, may not It I ask, finish a peacefull Negociation? I will stand by my L^d Keeper's opinion in this matter provided the Case be fairly stated to Him.

FFOUNTAINEBLEAU $\frac{\text{Aug. } 29.}{\text{Sep: } 9}$ 1712.

MY LORD

I have the honour of 2 letters from Yo^r Lordsp of the $\frac{20}{31}$ Aug. and $\frac{23 \text{ Aug:}}{8 \text{ Sep:}}$ upon the arrival of a second Messenger I have dispatched Him I

had here (Dagley) to Turin with a paquet from the Office and One from yo^r Lordsp to E: Peterbrough, I made the complement of asking mons^r Torcy if He had any thing to send to that Court by that opportunity, w^{ch} He took well; and this morning he told Me laughing that his letters last Night said L^d Peterbrough was gon to or expected at Vienne: Mons^r Torcy knows my L^{ds} way of Voyaging as well as We do; it seems Mons^r Torcy is extremely satisfied that C: Maffei is to go to Utrecht. He desires Me to tell yo^r Lordsp that He thinks it high time he should be there: and says that if He knew what difficulty the Court of France had to obtain and that of Madrid to give up Sicily, w^{ch} neither would have done but at the instance of the Queen, His master has all the reason in the world to be satisfied, and to enter into Her Maj^{ties} measures as his Interests and his acknowledgment require: He gave Me an other good reason for his so doing, w^{ch} is that the Germans hold secret correspondence in Sicily, and make great preparations in order to gain that kingdom from Philip as well as Savoy, w^{ch} will best be prevented by those people's being assured who is to be their Master, and for whom they are to defend themselves.

Upon this head I will explain to your Lordsp what I hinted only in a letter w^{ch} I ventured by way of Utrecht: Monteleon the sec^d Spanish Ambass^d here, and who does the business, after the high visit of Ceremony desired by a Common friend to see Me without his trappings: and in our discourse (as he seems a hearty Man) could not forbear expressing the hardships w^{ch} Spain suffers from what France imposes. He say'd that Sicily the K: gave up, *mais à chaudes larmes*, and that it is the greatest affliction the Monarchy of Spain ever suffered to have it's hand cutt off; that if yo^r Lordsp would or could satisfy Savoy otherwise, there was nothing that the Queen should ask for G: Britain but that Spain would give: I said I did not question but that the Queen would so far secure the Interests and Grandeur of that Monarchy wth whom We were always friends as to convince the K: of Sp: of her goodness, and to oblige his friendship: I gave Him what arguments I could that Spain contracted into it self was more powerfull than with Sicily, w^{ch} had always been a dead-weight to it, and begged of him, as he spoke to Me in confidence as a Man of honour, He would let no body here know his sentiments in this behalf, since his doing so might prejudice his Master's interests:

Mons^r Torcy is pleased that the Queens Ministers at Utrecht have notified the Cessation; he says he relies upon your Lordsp's conduct of matters there that the Allies should grow wise and the Cessation become a Peace.

According to what your Lordsp wrote concerning the Catalans, this

court being perfectly of the same opinion the K: dispatched a Courier last Night to Madrid to give absolute pardon, assurance of possessions and confirmation of all rights and privileges to the whole Country, and every Man in it, that shall come in before a certain day, mon^s. Torcy named the last of Oct^r but I suppose that must be left in blank for those at Madrid to fill up, orders are likewise given to those persons in Catalonia with whom this Court corresponds to use their best endeavours and to make the fairest advances towards these people. Torcy bewayled mon^s. Vendome's death, who was the Man of the world to bring such a thing to effect. I am glad this order will be published so as that D: of Argile may find the good of it at his arrival in those parts, as I am likewise to observe that there was not the least delay in this Court dispatching the Courier as soon as I had mentioned the thing to m^r Torcy, and the Council had deliberated upon it.

As to whatever relates to commerce, and an Explanation of the term for prizes beyond the line I refer your Lordsp to what I have writ to the E: of Dartmouth.

I dayly expect passeports such as L^d Keeper and the Cheif Justices think fit, desiring only to have it observed, with all due respect to the Law, that if we cramp our own trade, other people will have less reason to enlarge it.

The Young Man parted from Livri a house near Paris on Wensday, He is gon to Chalon (sur la Marne) where he will be more private than at Reims and at less expence; He went with absolute resignation. Azzurini (amongst others of his rogueries) has shewn a letter as writ from the Young Man to the B: of Bristol or L^d Strafford by the hand or dictate of . . . Stafford at St Germain: the Young Man has solemnly protested that He never gave order or knew any thing concerning such a letter, nor did — Stafford write or cause it to be writ: mon^s. Torcy says he thinks he can give Me the letter befor I make up my parquet.

Mons^r Torcy is very desirous that the Dutch should be managed, as those over whom We have a more real power, and who are more likely to desire a speedy peace than the Imperialists: He is assured that Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and in general the province of Holland is *Parifique*: they have represented their Debts to be such as that they cannot possibly carry on the War.

I find Torcy expects that the whole peace between Us and France and Spain and Savoy is agreed on and to be complied wth agreeable to the Plan sent to Gaultier in April last.

I wish for my own quiet, as well as by reason it would have a good Air

here, that m^r Tallard had a perfect *Nunc dimittis* I hear of it very often in discourse, particularly from mons^r de Villeroy : who is very well again at Court, the Monarch being incapable of forgetting as he exprest it *une amitié de Naissance* and I am privately told, (w^{ch} I know comes from madam Maintenon) that the K : would take Tallard's liberty as a favour.

It will be impossible I find to gett m^r Savage fairly off from the Court of Rome : it never has been obtained that a Priest should wholly quit his orders ; Henry the Cardinal tho' K : of Portugal could not gain this liberty, as to the D : of Modena there is a mistake in the Instance, He was but a Deacon. Savage therefore must cut the Knot w^{ch} his holyness will not untie, turn protestant, renounce the Pope and all his works ; and sett himself seriously to the labour of Propagation.

I have a book called the "Soupirs de l'Europe à la veüe du project de Paix," the whole is a reflection upon the Queen's speech : 'tis supposed to be writ by Du Mont at the Hague and to have been dictated by Zinzendorf : mons^r Torcy has promised Me an other Copy of it, upon w^{ch} only consideration I told him I would send you this : I take it (to) be *Argumentum irrefragabile* in their own Stile against the Imperialists being any way reasonable : and We shall know to answer such stuff at leasure : in the mean time it is impossible for Me to express to Yo^r Lordsp the real respect and veneration w^{ch} this Kingdom pay her Maj^{ty}. I had some Guinees and Shillings of her Maj^{ties} Coyne w^{ch} I have given away and they keep them as Medals, I have sent for 3 Dozen prints of Her picture, and if I had 3 thous^d I could find Customers for them : they call Her plainly their Protectrice and their Ange tutelaire : this Epigram is much cryed up

Pax est fœminei generis, det fœmina pacem
Quæ Bellona fuit sic Dea Pacis erit.

You see by the length of my letter how unwilling I am to part with you, yet I must make it much longer if I touch upon the great obligations I have to you, and the sence I must ever retain of them : I am (as I ought to be) Your Servant.

Mons^r de Torcy constantly drinks your health, and Madame de Torcy who has a great deal of good humour and witt, drinks to Robin et to Harry, mais Je croy, dit Elle, que Robin est trop serieux pour Nous.

Inclosed I send you Azzurini's deposition and for the rest I once more refer your Lordsp to L^d Dartmouth, expecting every hour a Courier from Eng^d with such papers and Powers as may enable Me to go on in her Maj^{ties} service : w^{ch} will be the more necessary, for that mons^r de Marais told Me this Morning that they are examining our project of Commerce, and that in

2 or 3 days He should be able to talk with Me on those heads ; Once more, my Lord, I am ever and entirely yours.

Service to my dear Brothers and Sisters.

P.S. 12 at Night.

I do not dispatch the Courier till to Morrow Morning : I send your Ldsp the Copy of Azzurini's deposition w^{ch} I receive just now from mons^r Torcy's office, with other papers w^{ch} I transfer to the Secretaries of State.

As to the letter w^{ch} Your Lordsp mentions, I have explained that whole matter in such a Manner to mons^r Torcy that He says yo^r Lordsp has all the reason in the World ; and I really believe he thinks so.

FOUNTAIN-BLEAU. Sep: $\frac{12}{1}$ 1712.

MY LORD

I must refer my Self to a long letter w^{ch} I have writ to my L^d Dartmouth upon the same Subject as mons^r Torcy writes to Your Lordsp ; a difficulty w^{ch} when you have heard and examined, I hope you will find a remedy to, or We are all at Sea again : I have not One word of it from any body but his Lordsp, and All that I can say to it is that I have performed his order, and send him the Sentiments of this Court upon it :

Mons^r Torcy seemed struck wth thunder when I began to discourse wth Him about it, and wonders how this Storm (as he expressed it) was raised, when he thought We were just in the Harbour : without any further consideration upon it, I will only repeat that I have expres^t the Orders I had with the same plainness and Simplicity that I return You their Sentiments upon the Point, and beg Yo^r assistance and direction in it. Your Lordsp will pardon Me if I dare write to You what I would not mention to any body else ; I thought L^d Bolingbroke who knows every step of the Negotiation was to have carryed it on, but I see it is transferred to the other office, and apprehend new difficulties will dayly arise from this Change— but mihi jussa capessere, is more truly my Motto than any other Man's.

It is with the same confidence and freedom that I send Your Lordsp the inclosed Copy of mar^{shall} Montreuil's letter. The Character of the person therein mentioned is stupendious, and his conduct in this Kingdom has made a great noise at Court : I for my own part can wish Him no personal

ill, but thought it in every respect my duty to give you this advertisement: you will make such use of it as you judge proper. The D: of Lorrain has writ to this Court respectfully as to the Queen, but most submissively to his most C: Maj^{ty} that shall have all civility and regard that his quality requires, tho' he bears the name of the Chevalier S^t George: that He may be at Nancy if he pleases, or at Barr, but that Passeports from the Emp^r etc. etc. will be necessary for his security w^{ch} may be obtained for him under the name of Chevalier S^t George.

Your Lordsp will have known that as Douay is taken and Quesnoy besieged our affairs cannot gain by lying thus undecided, I wish therefore that precise orders were given, in relation to the finishing our treaty of Commerce: I expect every day to hear from Eng^l: upon that head, and I hope I need not write upon my own affair, for that it is already settled: tho' I am well enough received by the Ministers here I at best but beg their audience, and owe that to their Charity w^{ch} I ought in justice to ask; they hear Me indeed, but after every body else, and it is no very pleasant thing for Mons^r Prior de la part de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne to stay in an antechamber till the Monastrolles and Cromstroms have told their stories—but I presume, (I say,) that my complaint is prevented, and have only to add upon this Subject that I shall always employ my best endeavours in her Maj^{ties} service, and in such Station and manner as Your Lordsp shall please to direct. At present I have neither power, commission, name, instruction, appointment, or Secretary—yet I go on to tell you that mons^r Torcy judges the D: of Ormond's stay in Flanders absolutely necessary, I suppose his reason to be that they beseiging Quesnoy, the Duke's stay on this side seems to imply that Her Maj^{ty} does in some manner justify and approve their proceedings. Mons^r Torcy tells Me that mynheer Hennequin Bourguemaster of Rotterdam desires (by the intercession of some friends) a passeport to come heither, seemingly upon his own affairs, but (as mons^r Torcy thinks) in order to transact towards a Peace; if the passeport should be formally asked, mons^r Torcy says it shall be granted or refused as Her Maj^{ty} may think good, and Yo^r Lordsp may direct, He will wait yo^r answer.

As to the Religionaires (as they call them here) being released, mons^r Torcy desires Her Maj^{ty} would by no means ask w^t the King can not comply with, for that He hopes a No shall never pass between their Maj^{ties}: upon this head I shall be able to give you some acc^t in a little time; having gott the beginning of an acquaintance wth the reverend Pere le Tellier; I hope our friend at West^r will not know this either Mardi or Mercredi, for if He

should, Bons Dieux! A Te spem, salutem, consilium, auxilium expetens, I remain ever and entirely

My Lord

Your Ser^t

M. PRIOR.

The Court goes from hence on Wensday, I shall be at Paris too Morrow Night.

PS: Tuesday Morn: $\frac{13}{2}$ Sep^r

Pray, my L^d read my despatches to the E: of Dartmouth, and help Us; I sup't last Night with mons^r Torcy, We are a little shagrin^d but hope the best by yo^r assistance.

Is Mar^{shall} Tallard free by this general Release, and would it not be obliging that He has a civil letter writ to him on that acc^t?

FOUNTAINBLEAU, Sep: $\frac{13}{2}$ 1712.

Noon.

MY LORD

M^r Torcy sent to Me the Moment I had made up those long dispatches for the Contents of w^{ch} I refer you to what I have writ to the Secretary of State, and to Your Lordsp; and told Me that He had just shown the King his letters from Spain, upon w^{ch} I might assure Your Lordsp that All things were agreed to in that Kingdom, according to what Her Maj^{ty} had required, and that as His most Chr: Maj^{ty}. would have no reserve towards the Queen, but would give Her all opportunities of letting Her know that He sought Her friendship, He ordered Mons^r de Torcy to show Me the Original letter, writ all wth Philip's own hand to His Maj^{ty} that I might take a Copy of it, and send it immediately to the Queen; w^{ch} I accordingly do.

Your Lordsp will find the Queen named in this letter *la Reyne d'Angleterre*, w^{ch} I believe this Court intends should be taken notice of, that the Scruples I have mentioned as to L^d Lexington's Character may be taken off; and you see Spain intends forthwith to send a Minister to England: w^{ch} Embassy (I hear privately) will be very magnificent.

As to Gibraltar, mons^r Torcy is of opinion that it may be best adjusted

here, and immediately, as that it will be transacted more privately, and only by your Lordsp's directions, that it will less shock the Gravidad Espagnole to have it done to their hands, than if it were debated and possibly too much exposed in their Councils. This Torcy bids may be writ only to you, and from you only I shall expect my Ordera.

To Philip's letter I joyn an Extract of mons^r Bonac's to this King. I am ever with great Duty and respect.

My Lord

Your Lordsp's most ob^t and most humble Ser^t

M. PRIOR.

VERSAILLES Sep: $\frac{16}{27}$ 1712.

MY LORD

Since at this time it can not be indifferent to the L^d High Treas^r to know what becomes of Her Maj^{ties} minister in France, nor is it so, at any time, to the Earl of Oxford, to know how matters go with his faithfull servant Prior I begin by telling your Lordsp that for ten days past I have been confined to my Bed by what We speaking finely call *une trousse galante*, a distemper cruel to bear as unmannerly to name. I am better, and at Versailles from whence I dispatch this post: the service, God be thanked, has no way suffered by my being ill, nor ever shall as long as I can draw vital breath. mons^r. Torcy came to Me with the same Ease that You would have done; and as well He as I expected a Cargo from You by Barton, tho' on the Contrary he brought from you neither letter, powers nor Secretary all w^{ch} I want most exceedingly. The 2 latter I presume are on the way, or I should be mighty clamorous, for as well as that it is idle for Me to depend upon other people's Charity for their being civil to Me; it is really very troublesome for mons^r Torcy thus to transact my business for Me with mons^r Pontchartrain, mons^r Voisin and the other Ministers: and while I am upon this Subject, pray let the appointments be antedated, however the powers may come late: NB: we sett out the 2^d of Aug^t and the Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht are above 3 quarter of a Year old at 100 p^d p^r Week.

As to letters from you, I must beg you that as often as any order or advice I may receive is doubtfull you would be pleased to give Me your explication

of it, which will likewise serve to mons^r Torcy, in case you do not write directly to Him : for I must own He acts without any reserve to Me, such credit the character you have given Me of being Yo^r friend has acquired to Me here.

In my last I referred Your Lordsp to what I had writ to L^d Dartmouth, I do so likewise now ; observing to you only that my L^d sent Me the inclosed from D^r Henchman wth according to his order I translated and gave to mons^r Torcy. I found Him mightily concerned, that after He thought the form of the Renonciation was agreed to, any new difficulty might arise, and desirous that above all things this point might be finished as the only means effectually to prevent any Remora y^t may arise at Utrecht : I have letters of 6 and of 7 days date fresher than those that accompanied these doubts of D^r Henchman, and my L^d Dartmouth not sending any thing further upon this head, and L^d Lexington being dispatched into Spain in such a Manner as is satisfactory to this Court, We hope that my Lord has such orders and his good Sence will so well interpret them that the form of the Renonciation will be so fairly agreed on at Madrid, as to meet wth no difficulty at Paris, and that We shall hear no further from the Doct^r of Oxford.

I think We have settled another point in the Manner You could wish and my Lord Bolingbroke instructed : that of renewing the Conference at Utrecht : mons^r Torcy writes to L^d Boling : upon this head, and will send Me the Copy of the King's order wth he communicates to the Plenipotentiaries ; by wth you will see that neither the French are to break in upon Us for any Declaration derogatory to what Her Maj^{ty} mentions in her Speech as to the bounds of the Dutch barriere, nor Ours to be hindered as to the renewing the Negotiations by any Specification that the French may oblige them to consent to ; it is indeed a thing of Appearance rather than of reality : and I think in a great deal of discourse wth I have had on this subject with mons^r Torcy, he plainly understands a very Essential difference between her maj^{ty} declaring her Consent that they shall have Tourney, and setting her Self in such a Scituation (as to her Allies) that they may reasonably demand and obtain it :

The affair wth will precede any other is the Satisfaction wth Messag^r expects. I own to Yo^r Lordsp I was very glad that the Issue of this Matter is referred to Her Maj^{ty} Arbitrage : tho' I seemingly declined such a reference, for that it would be impossible in such an extraordinary Case to satisfy both parties, and that already the Malcontents did not stick to say We were *trop Francois*, that the Dutch were as yet our Allies and we could not (tho' I hoped We should shortly) call the French our friends—

however I was heartily glad the thing is so referred, for that it is certainly a great honour to Her Majest^y to decide solely what satisfaction the Monarch is to have, the Emp^r being by his Ministers upon the place, as likewise all the Confederates collectively taken, and obliged to think of this affair as Her Maj^y shall please to determine, so I conceive it to be a particular advantage to our present scituation that Her Maj^y may determine sooner or later as She thinks proper the Conferences shall advance or no.

Upon this subject I must tell you that the Dutch press more than ever for a peace, the way they take is by the El^r of Bavaria to whom they have sent un homme affidé. I think he is one of the El^{rs} Subjects or his Servant; their Curiosity is to know if the low Countreyes may be assigned to the Elec^r and in that case if he would not take it, giving up the property of all the Garison'd towns (w^{ch} the Dutch are to have) to the States for ever: You see by this how well the Imperialists and the States are likely to be together, and in how different senses Each understands the word Barriere. If Henniquin whom I have named persists to ask a passeport to come heither shall he have One? but pray, let Us make an end of our own great affair as soon as possibly we can, and in order to it, for God's sake let the Commands I shall receive be charged with no Chimæras, and that the Ministers here may see that I speak the sence of a Nation where the E: of Oxford is Minister.

The Vessel the Griffen belongs to Crozat a relation of mons^r Voisin. Your Lordsp will see by the inclosed to Me from mons^r de Torcy how particularly he interestes himself in this affair, I have sent the Memorial it self to my L^d Dartmouth, s^r Tho: Hardy being the Captor, and the Case so very particular as that Crozat had a passeport but had it not on board will intitle him to as much favour as may justly be shown:

I have given the Mar: Tallard his release, he expresses his Sentiments of the Queen's favour to my L^d Dartmouth and desires Me to return his acknowledgments to your Lordsp.

Mons^r Torcy orders Me to inform Your Lordsp as from Himself in particular, that the Emp^r has great correspondence with our Whiggs by the means w^{ch} Count Galas formerly established: that a design is forming of no less intent than dethroning or securing her Maj^y and that 8 Lords whose names he can not yet find, are to head this hopefull project: as He knows more of it I shall likewise know more, but this advice, vague as it is, he thinks not to be neglected.

The D: of Lorrain is certainly in the Austrian interest and will betray the Chevalier in every thing he does or says whilst he remains in his dominions, whereas he asks that We should from the Emp^r obtain those

passeports for the Chevalier, w^{ch} may assure him from that power to w^{ch} he betrays him: such passeports must however be obtained.

A long letter I have writ to my Lord Dartmouth will let Your Lordsp see what I have done in the points of the release of Prisoners, the Case of fish and Corn carryed to Spain or Portugal, Passeports, etc.

Pray write to Me, my Lord, for the next Messenger that comes without a letter from You I will certainly go back with; to tell you vivâ voce that I am ever with all zeal and respect

My Lord

Yo^r Lordsp's most ob^t and most humbly devoted Ser^t

M. PRON.

Pray don't let Dartmouth know that I send You the Doctor's letter, with mons^r Torcy's annotations upon it, nor lett Me have any more of John of Buck's Cookery.

PARIS $\frac{9 \text{ Oct}}{28 \text{ Sep}}$ 1712.

MY LORD

The Messenger (Dagley) returned hither last Night, having happily found E. Peterbrough within 4 days journey of the place where He expected Him: I have taken this opportunity of transmitting to the E. of Dartmouth what I have received since I sent away the last Express from the Ministers here: and of sending to yo^r Lordsp the inclosed Acc^t as I received it from mons^r Torcy.

I find the Person concerned as She is in great Necessity is likewise in great Expectation that this affair should be fixed: Her Jewels w^{ch} were in pawn are sold outright, except some (as I hear) given to the Chevalier. mons^r Torcy interests himself particularly in this Matter, but all under the Notion of Humanity and good Nature, while he urges on our side the Topics of Justice and Generosity and is for antedating the payment, if not till Midsommer yet at least from the day of the Chevalier's departure from hence.

The Court returned last Night to Versailles from Rambouillet, where they have been treated since Monday by the G: Admiral.

I expect every hour the arrival of friend Drift with your Lordsp's commands upon what I have already writ to you. Cantillon draws 500 p^d

Sterl : upon yo^r Lordsp w^{ch} will be One of many Arguments by w^{ch} you will confess that Paris is a very dear place, and that m^r Prior could hardly have been more expensive at Utrecht.

Amongst other heads of Expen^{ce} tho' I can not take off the whole I can contract some part, (if you please.), it is Charity I give to the afflicted ; some really, all calling themselves the Queen's subjects, Souldiers, Widdows, with a long etcætera, by w^{ch} I have gott a thousand Benedictions upon the Queen and Her Gouvernement, and spread thro' Paris a Notion (w^{ch} I am very fond of) that Her Maj^{ty} is not only the greatest but the most pious Princesse in the World : Her Minister is not to blame, while He makes Her Enemies confess this truth, and I am sure yo^r Lordsp thinks that I am as Just an Almoner to Her Maj^{ty} on this Occasion as my friend my L^d Archbishop of York could be.

S^r Tho : Hanmer writes Me word from Gaunt that in some short time He will be here.

I have not been well, but I hope the violence of the distemper being gon off, matters will be better, what I know of the whole is that as long as I live I hope I shall continue, my Lord,

Your Ser^t

M. PRIOR.

Maj. Bland who goes to Catalonia to get the forces paid will be forwarded from hence too-morrow with the passeports Necessary. After the Holland Gazette he assured Me that yo^r good friend and Mine Godolphin is dead. Requiescat in Pace.

It looks a little Whimsical, tho' it is really fact, that All the World here is overjoyed at Her Maj^{ties} recovery and joyn in wishing well to that Life upon w^{ch} the safety of Europe depends.

10 Oct^r
29 Sep^r 1712.

The Marq : de Monteleon whom I have formerly mentioned to Yo^r Lordsp is named for Eng : He has writ to the 2 Secretaries, and desires Me to make his Complements to Your Lordsp : You will like Him better then any of the Tuquoques : He is a very honest good Man, and has nothing of the Punto of the Spaniard.

The Mercenary troops especially those of Saxe are quarelling with the

Dutch upon the point of who is to pay the Reckoning since Her Maj^{ty} has with-held Her hand.

The Dutch I just now hear would come in to the signing the Peace, provided Tournay was assured to them, pray send Me a word how I shall answer to any question of this kind that may be proposed to Me here.

One thing I had almost forgot and it is One thing wth Your Lordsp I am afraid, has quite forgott; poor Dicks preferment, he has been at Your House every Wensday since You appointed Him, pray don't let him mistake Mercredi.

I hope Iberian Gillingham and British Drift are before now on this side the Water, upon wth considerations I will torment Yo^r Lordsp at present with nothing more than the repeated assurances of my being ever Yo^r Ser^t and my wishes for all good to Yo^r family.

VERSAILLES $\frac{17}{8}$ Oct. 1712.

MY LORD

This King has agreed that the Princes who by virtue of the Renonciation are to succeed to the Crown of France shall be specially named in the Act, (*as by the inclosed you will see*) in a manner that I hope will be thought satisfactory, of this having given the Secretaries of State an acc^t I will trouble Yo^r Lordsp no further than to tell You I am heartily glad it is accomplished. N B: I send the Agreement to L^d Dart.

Upon the news of the French descent upon Monserrat, and our apprehensions that they might further annoy Us in our Carribbee Islands: of wth I had a particular acc^t from L^d Bolingbroke wth his sentiments of so unhappy an accident at this time, I made a most terrible Noise here; and found I had a great many of my side: I represented to mons^r Torcy the unkindness of this undertaking, that even Cassarts going out was at a time when We were pritty well assured we should soon be friends, (it was in March.) I told Him I had letters *from you* particularly in which I perceived you were mightily uneasy, that the Marchants would not fail to blame the Ministry, that the Whiggs would not fail to exert their talents ag^t every Man concerned in the treaty now on foot, and most particularly ag^t yo^r Lordsp; I said I had yo^r orders to say this and more—and was the more encouraged so to do from some scandalous reflections wth I know our friends

from Holl^d have made upon this occasion. I hope I have done well, as I meant it for your Service: when I found mons^r Torcy at *que faire à cette heure mons^r Prior*, I desired him to think if some Method might not be used by their addressing to the Queen to say their concern for this unhappy accident, and to propose some reparation w^{ch} might alleviate matters, and break the violence of those orders w^{ch} I must otherwise infallibly expect upon this Occasion: at last he agreed to speak to the King w^{ch} he did in Counsel yesterday, and accordingly writes to L^d Boling: to day, I used Your Name in this whole matter and said I had your particular order and advice for so doing, so pray justify Me, and let L^d Bol: know that I had your order, for you will find the whole rowl upon your acc^t but I think the proposal will stop all clamour, and I hope in this conduct I have served the Queen, and (implicite and virtualiter) executed your orders—

Our Marchant's complaints are and ever will be mutual, I give and I receive: I hope I shall be able to serve m^r Sam Shephard, but methinks the Rascal forces me into his aid by clapping your letter to my breast, and bidding Me deliver.

No body can tell the real injury and cruelty w^{ch} m^r Moore does Me by keeping Drift on that side. I have no hand in France that I dare trust to write, copy, seal or carry a letter, and this has continued now above a Month: it has been impossible for Me to keep the least Memoire or scrip of paper of any thing I have done, it is terrible.

The D. of Argile is just arrived at Paria. I can't see him till too Morrow but have ordered Every thing for his reception.

mons^r Torcy just now showed Me his letter to You.

I am ever with all truth and respect

My Lord

Yo: Lordsp's most ob^t and humble Ser^t

M. PRIOR.

I sent the Article agreed (as I have transmitted it to L^d Dartmouth) to L^d Lexington, that no time may be lost.

Mons^r Torcy just now sends for Me. He tells Me the K: (Philip) has granted a general Amnesty and safety of goods, Chattells and possessions to the Catalans, and that He has respited the Assembly of the Cortez 'till the 20th Ins: the miserable Portugaizes are mad, they will lose an other town before they accept a Cessation, rather than having One granted to them in order to bring them to accept it.

In the Agreement w^{ch} I mentioned in the beginning of my letter are specified the D: of Berry, and his descendants, the D: of Orleans and

his, the D: of Bourbon and his and every other P. in his turn is this Enough?

I must make my bow to the Mon^{ch} too Morrow Morri: and my Complements:

PARIS the $\frac{19}{8}$ Jan: 1713.

MY LORD

The D: of Shrewsbury has met wth that reception wth his great Quality and merit might justly expect; He had an audience on Tuesday Morning of the King at Marli, w^{ch} is reckoned here a particular Mark of Distinction, I never saw the Monarch so blyth since I have been here, and I beleive in his life He never received any Subject so graciously: the Substance of what He said to my L^d Duke was that He might assure the Queen of the sincerity of his friendshp to Her Maj^{ty} and his desire of living well with Her, and that He hoped the Peace so far advanced would now soon receive the last hand from the Duke's coming. His Grace sends to L^d Dartmouth the substance of our last Conferences wth mons^r Torcy upon the subject of Newfndland, to which I take leave to add that yo^r friend Torcy is in the last Concern to find the Dukes instruction so strict in a point w^{ch} cannot be given up by France, at a time when We well hoped that Difference was adjusted; pray, my L^d lett Us have your distinct and positive orders here-upon by the first, as likewise if it be possible for Us to settle our Commerce in general wth France upon the foot of the tariff of 1664 mutually, or seek some New Epoche of time, for at present it lyes pritty Chimerical; I send your Lordshp inclosed a Copy of my letter to L^d Bolingbroke and D: Shrewsburies desire that We may have your orders to finish. I beleive Torcy writes himself to you.

As to private affaires We are all in health, the D: of Shrewsb: mightily honoured and very well pleased. I wish extreamly to hear from Yo^r Lordshp and desire you to think that I am plus que personne au monde, votre Serviteur

PRIOR.

Is my L^d Fitz.harding really Dead?

Feb : 4 : N S : 1713.

PARIS.

MY LORD

The inclosed Memoire is what I promised You in my last, w^{ch} You will hardly have received before This comes to Yo^r hand : I hope you will find that it settles the Commerce upon the foot We desire of Amicissima Gens, We transmit it to the Secretaries of State, the D : of Shrewsbury sends it to L^d Dartmouth, and I—*longo sed proximus intervallo*—to L^d Bolingbroke ; and to it We add the answers w^{ch} the French gave to our Plenipotentiaries (at Utrecht the 20th Jan^{ry}) to the particular points of Commerce subservient to this Article, w^{ch} I do not trouble You with, referring You to them as sent to the L^{ds} Secretaries ; so that upon your answer We hope That whole Matter is settled.

I have formerly writ to your Lordsp concerning Newport, upon a long discourse wth Count Monostrole, for w^{ch} I was prepared by friend Torcy, I find the El^r of Bavaria desirous more than ever of her Majesties favour and protection ; w^{ch} if She pleases to grant Him He thinks Luxembourg may fall to his Share, I desired your Lordsp (in one of my former) to think if it were not practicable that Newport might fall to our Share : I shall direct my self as you shall be pleased to instruct Me privately in this Essay : I beleive the D : of Shrewsbury transmits to Eng^d some of the Grievances of that *bann'd* family.

Having done the business w^{ch} I had to write to You, I will tell You a Story w^{ch} is something odd ; by it You may observe the Honesty of our good Allies ; about 3 Months since a person came to the Palais royal and left a letter there for the D : D'orleans, the purport of it was, that He had a secret of great Consequence to impart to Him ; after reiterated letters of this kind, the D : Saw Him ; and perceiving he talked of some points w^{ch} did not become him, the D : dismissed Him and the Man disappeared for some time. the Man has been since in Holl^d and coming back has told the D : that He offers Him no less than a Crown, that He has only to put himself at the head of an army of his friends who shall be ready in Alsace &c. to obey his Commands, the Catholic Cantons of Suisse being ready to send a competent Number of Troops to those provinces, wth w^{ch} He may without difficulty make Himself K : of France, of w^{ch} the Emp^r will assure Him, wth his best assistance, and Count Zinzendorf projects this hopefull matter at the

Hague: the Man returned heither some days since, the D: of Orleans having all along told the thing to the King and the Ministry, and so far of it—*Hicce oculis egomet vidi*, a Note thus written

Vous pouvez donner une confidence entiere à celui qui Vous rend ce billet.

ZINZINDORF.

dated from the Hague &c.

This was the content if not the word of the Billett, the Man upon examination and promise of reward says that mons^r Zinzindorf sent Him, that a Réfugée at the Hague, whom He does not yet name excited Him, (a Roman Catholic) to this voyage and undertaking; and that our friend the Pension^r is in this secret, Mons^r Basnage the Minister of the French Church of Rotterdam going between the Pens^r and Count Zinzindorf: I had this from mons^r Torcy, and by his permission I have imparted it to the D: of Shrewsbury, I write it to your Lordsp^s *alone* in Eng^d however Chimerical it may look, pray be asured from it that our Austrians will do as much to disturb Us, as they would to disturb France, and that Count Zinzindorf here would do what Galasch would have done in England.

The King desires that Her Maj^{ty} may be secretly informed of this Matter.

I begg yo^r Lordsp^s answer as to my Equipage w^{ch} will be absolutely necessary for assisting at the Renonciation and the Entry, in case, (I repeat,) that I am to stay here, till that time, if I were at a certainty, I think the thing might be ordered so as that the Expence would not much surpass that w^{ch} I make now in a Scrambling, Monthly, hireling Way. but all this I leave wholly to your Lordsp^s direction, reserving to my Self only a perfect Submission to what you judge proper.

I am very angry wth Lord Harley concerning the Caesar's Commissaries [*sic*], and wth Lady Betty, no, no, Carmarthen concerning the fans for w^{ch} the Women dun me to Death. the D: of Shrewsbury writes to L^d Dartmouth concerning the D: S^t Pierres interest, I must acquit my self of a promise I made to mons^r Torcy that I would remind Your Lordsp of it. I begg to hear from you and to remain ever

Your most obliged and most humbly devoted Ser^t

M. PRIOR.

How glad are We that E: Peterbrough is in Eng^d viâ Hollandiæ?

VERSAILLES the 7th Feb: 1713.

MY LORD

This Express comes to tell your Lordsp that the Article of Commerce as sent in Latin by L^d Bolingbroke is agreed, the Article of Newfoundland^d received, and the Isle of Sable yeilded to Us, as our boundary on the side of Cap Breton: so that I congratulate Yo^r Lordsp for y^t All We had to do with France is adjusted, and the Queen at liberty to sign Her own Peace and mediate That of Her Allyes as Her Maj^{ty} may judge proper. I hope this despatch will reach you soon enough, for Her Maj^{ty} to mention it at the opening of the Session, and long to see what figure it will make in Her Speech.

I endeavour to my utmost, as L^d Bolingb: hints to Me, to convince mons^r Torcy how necessary it is that this court should give their Plenipot^{ries} at Utrecht very open and distinct orders as to what They would do to every one of the Allyes for the procuring a speedy and general Peace; and I do not doubt but that the D: of Shrewsbury inculcating the same Doctrine with greater Weight and Efficacy, such orders will accordingly be sent from hence, as may best conform with Her Maj^{ties} wishes in this Point. Torcy assures Me so positively that the French Plenipotentiaries shall have such orders to declare that their Master will do all He can to facilitate and fix the forms of a general Peace, as shall put those in the Wrong who defer to comply wth them. so that now God be thanked Yo^r Lordsp is pritty near arriving to that point that will make the Queen easy, the Nation safe, your friends happy and Yo^r own reputation immortal.

I am ever with due that is with the greatest respect

My Lord

Yo^r Ser^t

M. PRIOR.

I must still add for fear of being misunderstood that I do not think any new concessions will be yeilded to the Allyes, but that the offers already made will be repeated and offered again, to take off any imputation of France having a Mind to chicane, or of not being in earnest to come to a speedy conclusion.

mons^r du Casse told Me on Sunday that the French Squadron commanded by Cassart have taken Surinam.

If I should begg to hear a word frō your Lordsp as to the public or my own private affairs should I obtain my request?

PARIS the $\frac{26}{15}$ Feb: 1713.

MY LORD

By what the D: of Shrewsbury writ three days since to L^d Bolingb: concerning the points w^{ch} We had from Utrecht as yet undetermined and One or two particulars w^{ch} the Court here desired might be softened I hope our own affair is adjusted. I send L^d Boling: the enclosed, of w^{ch} He will make the proper use, and if there be any thing in what I mention, the heads hinted at may be easily redressed.

Renonciation to be assisted at, and Entry to be made in either case what I am to do or how to behave my self; pray my Lord, One word of Direction by la Vigne or the first Messenger and when you favour Me with a letter say something to mons^r Torcy or of mons^r Torcy, for He complains in a friendly manner of yo^r silence by what D: of Shrewsb: writes to L^d Dartmouth you will see We are alarmed here: God keep you safe and nil desperandum est. I am with eternal obligation and respect

My Lord

Your Ser^t

M. PRIOR.

Plate in this Country is terribly long in it's being fashioned: I have only within this fortnight one part of my service about 700 p^d Sterl: of w^{ch} Your Lordsp in an other fortnight will hear.

I have no more news of my Lord Fitz-harding than if He were still alive. adieu my lord.

Ever yours.

VERSAILLES the 9th Mar: 1713.

MY LORD

By what the Duke of Shrewsbury writes, Your Lordsp finds that the last points We received from Engl^d are so far adjusted, that accordingly We have sent Notice thereof to Utrecht, and I may congratulate Your Lordsp upon the Peace made,

Quod felix faustumque sit—

I expect by the return of this Courier to hear that Her Maj^{ty} speaks upon this subject in a manner worthy her Greatness and Your Lordsp's Ministry and now that our affairs draw to a conclusion I must beg again that Your Lordsp would be pleased to give Me Your directions, what I am to do and how to be when the D: of Shrewsb^y makes his Entry: if You will honour Me with a line upon this subject w^{ch} in point of time can not be deferred: or tell either of the Secretaries of State Her Maj^{ties} order and pleasure upon this *important* point, (for to both Secretaries I have writ) I shall obey with great cheerfulness; but in truth the Uncertainty in w^{ch} I am, and your Lordsp's Silence upon it gives Me more uneasiness than I am willing to acknowledge.

I have an odd piece of News to tell You, the person whom I have formerly advised Your Lordsp came from Count Zinzendorf to the D: of Or—— is returned heither again, with the same sort of Message, but without any further explanation, than that the Peace would not be general and made in part, as it might be, would not last a Year, that the design was ready so as not to fayl in case the D: of Or—— accepted the proposal. a great Sum of mony was already found for it, the succour of troops to come from the side of Suisse and Alsace, and the D: of Mar——h to be at the Head of them.

However Chimerical this may look I thought it my duty to write it to You, as I had it from mons^r Torcy.

The renonciation w^{ch} the Dukes of Berry and Orleans are to make in the Parliament of Paris is fixed for the $\frac{18}{4}$ Inst: the letters Patents of the King to that effect w^{ch} We send to L^d Dartmouth are very ample, and in a very particular manner respectfull and complaisant to Her Maj^{ty}

As to the points of the Bona Immoilia they are referred in so fair a manner to Her Maj^{ties} consideration, and in my poor Judgement in part so rigorous that I do not mention them to any body else, but I desire You m Prior to mention them to L^d Treas^r these are m^r Torcy's words. I do not know if Your Lordsp has a letter from him on the same Subject. desiring to hear 3 lines from your Lordsp I remain ever

Your Servant,

M. PRIOR.

As to L^d Fitzhardings being dead I find it was a mistake: it was a chest fill'd with his præ-humous works that was carryed out.

But the King of Prussia is dead most certainly.

Easter Sunday

$\frac{5}{16}$ Ap: 1713.

MY LORD

We had yesterday Morning the News of the Peace being signed on tuesday Night, we had the News I say, but From mons' de Torcy, not a word from the *Pleni's* at Utrecht: I suppose they have heard that my Lord Treas' seldom writes to Us, and they think it proper to do the like;—*faitez place, Coquins.* it is as much as I can possibly do to excuse Your Silence, but for theirs I shall punish it with my Indifference: for after this one piece of News w^{ch} they did not send, God be thanked, they will never have any thing to say that may be worth the hearing. *parlons d'autres choses:* tho' you don't write to Me, I am sure You continue to love Me, and to think that I always shall study what may be for Your service: would it not be proper that you write a word to mons' Torcy? and am I too impertinent in drawing up the inclosed, according to the great liberty w^{ch} You have formerly indulged Me, and to the Sence of my Motto, *fide et taciturnitate.* I really think His friendship and Yours of the greatest consequence to the public good; and would not for any thing have Him imagine you neglect Him: besides, my Lord, if You write to mons' de Torcy, you will put yo^r letter under a Cover to me, and in that Cover there may possibly be four lines—and now, my Lord, I congratulate You from my Soul for this great and good thing w^{ch} You have done for your Queen and Country, and wish You long life, as well to confirm it to Us, as to enjoy the fruits of it Your Self; for the rest, I am in perfect Charity with You and that is as high as I can come till I hear frō you, and if You will remember poor Dick Shelton I will be more Your Servant, if possible, than ever.

VERSAILLES $\frac{18}{7}$ April.

Easter Tuesday.

Since I wrote this former part of my letter, We have been at Court and I think have effected what You thought good to recommend to Us in

relation to the Emperours affairs in Italy, You will see by the inclosed that this affair will not obstruct the Emp^r signing Quod erat demonstrandum, and the repeated Declaration w^{ch} I took from mons^r Torcy's mouth of the 4 places upon the Coasts to belong to the House of Austria setts us beyond all mistake upon that subject, so that now He may come in when He pleases, w^{ch} I presume will be immediately for the rest I refer Your Lordsp to what the D: of Shrewsb^y writes to the E: of Dartmouth and to the Viscount Bolingbroke.

I have seen my Lord Johnston and shall obey Your commands to Him and to every body else.

I last night received this inclosed letter from mons^r de Torcy, w^{ch} makes your writing to him more necessary than ever.

Our little Duke d'Alencon was buried yesterday, the D: of Berry has a feaver, the King is well, our Complement upon the Peace was answered by him with all the respect and civility imaginable to the Queen.

Adieu, my Lord, once more I am ever Yours.

M. PRIOR.

PARIS the 6 Ap: 1713

MY LORD

Your Lordsp will See by what the D: of Shrewsbury writes to L^d Dartmouth that this Court will give the necessary orders to their people upon the Coasts of Provence and Languedoc, that such shipping as may be found there may assist towards the transport of the Germans from Catalonia: (w^{ch} Ad: Jennings says amount to 30,000, beside 6000 Horse) bien entendu that We are to defray the Charge: to what his Grace wishes further upon this subject that Gen^l Ross, or whoever else may be sent upon this affair, should contract with some persons skilled in these Matters either at Marseilles, or Toulon, or at both these places; I take leave to ask your opinion if m^r Dowdel who is now here may not do Us service upon this Occasion? and, as your Lordsp may determine, He shall be ready to obey your Direction.

As to what I formerly writ You word concerning a person sent from Holl^d by C^t Zinzendorf to make a Tentative, (Chimerical enough I think) upon the D: of Or——: mons^r Torcy told my L^d Duke and my self t'other day that the same person returned heither last Week; and says that

Zinzendorf persisted still, but the Pension^r had changed his tone entirely, saying that Holland was upon the point of making Peace with France, and that neither He nor his friends would do any thing or enter into any Measure that might disoblige his most Ch^a Maj^{ty} the person is still here, and growing suspected by Zinzendorf will hardly return. as I wrote the former part of this story to your Lordsp by the Duke of Shrewsburies order, so I give You this latter part of it, leaving the Observations upon it to your own Judgement.

I forgot to tell your Lordsp in my last that We have a young Duke d'Alañon but he came (as the Women call it) in the Seventh Month, which makes the length of his life more questionable.

I have your favourable promise of $\frac{17}{28}$ Feb^r that I should hear from yo^r Lordsp by the very next post : and every post from that time to this I have troubled You upon my own (or rather Your affair) my expence and figure at my L^d Duke's Entry of w^{ch} once more, I begg you to honour me with your Orders ; I will give your Lordsp no Arguments either for or against it for in truth I am indifferent how it is to be ; only thus, I must appear, or be come away before the Entry, or be sick——

We knew nothing either of the Prorogation of the Parliament or of L^d Keeper's Illness but what we had from mons^r de Torcy and He from D : d'Aumont and friend Gaultier , at w^{ch} the Duke of Shrewsb^r is as heartily angry as if He sayed more of it than I think He intends to do :

I take this opportunity of Coll : Nevil's return to send my Lady Oxford Her Scarf, which ought to be liked, when I tell Her that Madam Maintenon has the fellow of it :

You will find Coll : Nevil a very sensible Man, and Me for ever

Your Servant

M. PRIOR.

I have performed your orders, and our friend is I presume coming to You to exercise his Senatorial fonctions.

We this moment have a letter from L^d Dartmouth, by which We know the Parliament is prôged as till this day.

PARIS the $\frac{13}{2}$ May 1713.

MY LORD

I have the favour of your Lordsp's letter by the fatt Pluralist Abbé Gaultier, who is very well received here and indeed deserves it; tho' you judge very rightly of things, I am persuaded you do not know how welcome a letter from you is, or what satisfaction it gives Me, else I am sure you would write oftener, but the good of my life is so dependent upon your Will, that when I have desired any thing I must leave the refusal or performance of it to you.

Parlons d'autres choses; the affair of the 4 towns upon the Coasts of Tuscany, and the Emp^r pretensions to the Principalities of Italy assigned to the Austrian family stand in the Manner as Her Maj^{ty} desires; The Evacuation of Savoy and Nice is ordered by this court as his royal High^a Plenip^{ties} at Utrecht desired the D: of Shrewsbury to procure it; accordingly an Express is sent from hence to Count St Thomas, and advice given to m^r Chetwynd to inform his Royal High^a how immediately Her Maj^{ty} interests Her self in every thing relating to that Princes satisfaction.

The Emp^r and the Elec^r of Bavaria are in so fair a way of accomodation that a Marquisat of Burgau is offered to be accepted on the Elec^r side for the dédammagement of the treaty of Ilmersheim; now, since the Emp^r plainly says that He cannot pay the Mony, and all the world knows He can give the Marquisat, the Composition may be judged easy and practicable. the *Monarch* forced the Elec^r to be particular in his demands and reasonable in his pretensions, your friend Torcy told Me the whole of his Conferences wth that Prince and let Me see that they have had great regard to her Maj^{ties} content and Ease in that affair.

As I have not, I shall not fayl to lett mons^r Torcy know every Instance of that great esteem You have for Him, and to embrace every Occasion of cultivating that friendship between You Two w^{ch} is so necessary towards the safety of Europe: but, my Lord, envy not any parts however glorious of mons^r Torcy's life, or (to cure your Distemper) look back upon some Instances of your own cast In the merit of m^r Harley from the time that the Gardener brought You the letter, and the evenings I have had the honour to walk round the park with You, till the Earl of Oxford became Lord High Treas^r and Knight of the Garter; and see if the Man who

rescued His Sovereign from a captivity growing pritty near fatal, from a conspiracy rather than a Ministry where Methods of perjury and Murther were allowable, from a War ruinous to her Sovereignty destructive to the Interests, honour and liberty of her people : if this Man I say, needs any passage of any other Man's life, lett his Enemies, (if such can yet remain) judge fairly. no my Lord, You ought to be satisfied, You have as great a reputation as any man need have, and possibly a greater than any Man has had——

I should tell you concerning my own health, that after Strange efforts of a Cholera morbus, and pleuretic panga, (D^r Arthburthnott shall have the Case) I had an Imposthume in the Lungs broke; w^{ch} has been so watched and guarded by a good Scotch Physician that I beleive it is all (most) come away : I am at present as well in health as I have been for some Years past, and as ready to take the trip to Turin if You think good : but as to my health I give my self over to my Doc^r so as to my affairs I leave them to your Lordsp's ordonnance.

I am very glad to hear that our friend Jonathan is dignified and distinguished, and I thank Your Lordsp for what You write that Dick *shall not be long out*; I protest to You, if I had dyed t'other day, (he not preferred) I beleive I should have walked.

I perform your first Commands to Lord Johnstone too morrow Morning.

I am glad all is right on Your side, All is so here, by the D : of Shrews^{res} excellent sence and mons^r Torcye's open Honesty I mean as to the Species and our treaty of Commerce, upon w^{ch} our friends and Message were running into endless labyrinths at Utrecht ; but since things are cured what matters it to look back ? I hope you will hear no more of it Ever : adieu my Lord, God preserve Her Maj^{ty} and continue you all Good.

Yours Ever

M. PRIOR.

FOUNTAINBLEAU

Sep : $\frac{18}{29}$ 1713.

MY LORD

I have applyed to this Court in order to redress the Extravagance of the Memorial given to Lord Bolingbroke by the D : d'Aumond concern-

ing Placentia, and have obtained and sent to you in Engl^d this King's Order simple and unconditional for the surrender of the fort and place to her Maj^{ties} Officer impowered to take possession of them, so that the Article in that behalf is fully and honestly executed: and the other part of the D: d'Aumond's Memorial in w^{ch} he desires liberty for the French to fish this ensuing Year on any part of Newfoundl^d as before the Peace, is disavowed and rejected—whether by m^r Pontchartrain's negligence or m^r Desmaretz' inability to gett the troops (w^{ch} are there) away before the Winter I know not, in fact it is now too late for them to remove, the Season will not permit their being transported to Canada, or Cap. breton, nor is any provision made in the latter of those places for their reception, upon w^{ch} the King desires her Maj^{ty} to let them stay at Placentia till next Spring, and mons^r Torcy will take it as a favour from yo^r Lordsp that Her Maj^{ty} would be pleased to gratify the King in this Matter: to say the truth, it is far from being any annoyance to Us, the fort will be in the Possession of Her Maj^{ties} subjects, her Sovereignty will be acknowledged, and her Pavillion set up; the French must pay for what they have, and in case We have any shipping there in the Spring they will likewise pay for their transport, and such of the Inhabitants as shall chose to stay, will have the liberty allowed them by the treaty of so doing. m^r Torcy is apprehensive I see least he should be brouillé (as We call it) with m^r Pontchartⁿ in this Matter, who is already, I see, pretty well mortified upon this Subject, the King not having given Him order to direct m^r d'Aumond to draw up the Memorial, and desiring the stay of the troops only as from the friendship and favour of her Maj^{ty}. I may add to your Lordsp that by the 14th Art: they are a little founded in Justice as to what they desire, but this they not having taken notice of, it was not my business to remind them of it. I give Lord Bolingbroke and the Duke of Shrewsb^y an acc^t of this affair and I hope it stands to your Lordsp's satisfaction.

No further Overtures have been made by the Emp^r immediately, or on his part by the El^r Palatin.

The El^r of Bavaria is gon from hence to Compeigne, a good deal mortified that the D: of Savoy is to be a King before Him: I had a long discourse with Him the day he went, in w^{ch} he repeated his absolute submission to what the Queen should think fit to favour Him with, and assuring Her Maj^{ty} of his perpetual Gratitude, and Service.

On the other side I find the Court of Savoy very much pleased, as I may guess by their Minister Count Peron whom I visited this Afternoon, and took occasion to complim^t upon his Master being King of Sicily: I told him I thought my Self obliged to congratulate Him upon the Duke of

Savoy having that Crown wth the Queen of Great Britain had put on his head: He answered very civilly but in such a manner as showed He has rather good Manners than Witt: Maffei who is the sharp Man of that Court is expected here to Night.

We are in huntings, Comedies, feasts and all that the generality of the World calls pleasure: I am mightily *en odeur*, as We call it: but it is a strange Fancy I have, I had rather hear once a Month from my L^d Treas^r than be talked to Once a Day by the Grand Monarch:

I congratulate your Lordsp most sincerely upon my dear L^d Harley's marriage, for I really love Him as much as if He were (what you give Me leave to call Him,) my Brother: and now you are settling Your family, my Lord, e'n go thro' with it, from your Son to yo^r servant—the Duke of Shrewsb^{ry} says my destiny will now be soon settled. As you please, my Lord, I am always submissive to what may be easiest and best to You, and hopefull you are persuaded that in the Execution of your commands I shall act upon a principle much nobler than that of Self-Interest, however sometimes I may have dunn'd you between Jeast and Earnest. I remain always with the greatest Duty and respect

My Lord

Yo^r Lordsp's most ob^t and most humble Ser^t

M. PRIOR.

Oglethorp is here—what must I do wth Him?

FFOUNTAINBLEAU.

Sep^r $\frac{30}{19}$ 1713.

P S: MY LORD

mons^r Torcy desired Me last Night in the greatest Confidence to tell Him, if I had heard any thing of your sentiment in relation to mons: des Mezieres being ever named or desirous to be named for Eng^d and added that He had been told Your Lordsp was a little angry with Him on that account: He sayd he had nothing to do in the nomination of mons: d'Alégre, but to approve the Kings own choice: He say'd he believed You did not know what figure Mezieres was, (he is really very like Pain the Sollicitour,) and that the King was always very Nice in the persons of Such as were to have a representative Character he desired Me to try to know your thought and that I as from my self should testify from what I had

always found from him in relation to yo^r Lordsp that He would always endeavour to serve and to oblige You

If your Lordsp will be pleased to write a Word to Me on this or any other subject Barton who brings You this letter will return in very few days; and by Him I may be honoured with yo^r answer. but how could even Moses have obeyed and done right if he had not received the written Order?

I this Moment receive a letter from L^d Johnstone at Nantes by w^{ch} he desires I should transmit to him a third payment of 125 p^d Sterl: w^{ch} I shall accordingly do.

Extract of a letter to L^d BOLINGB^{ro}

PARIS Nov^r 29. 1713.

. . . By what I have formerly writ to Your Lordship of the 50 Sol^s per Ton you will see I had taken that matter a good deal to heart, I had endeavoured to set it before Mon^r Desmaretz in the best light I could, and in a Conversation last Week I explained to him with how much better grace it would look towards the opening the Commerce, and how effectual a means it might prove to that end if the Queen could say to Her People at the beginning of y^e Parliament that France had complied with what Her Majesty was already enabled by Act of Parliament to do in that behalf; He long insisted on the reciprocal taking off this Duty as Stipulated by the Letter of the Treaty, and that the King leaving it to Her Majesty to name the time when She would please to have the Duty taken off, upon which he would Act accordingly was the more reasonable because the advantage as to the number of Shipping lyes so evidently very much on our side. But at length Monsieur Desmaretz comes up to this That the King shal begin on this side to take off the Duty at any certain Day that shal be appointed, and the sooner the better in case that this Court has an Assurance from Her Majesty that She will be pleased on Her side to take it off in some reasonable time after, Her Majesty shal be Master of that time, but previously I must remark to Your Lord^{sh} that by *Reasonable* will be meant three Weeks or a Month.

By Monsieur Desmaretz receding thus far the reciprocity of the Article is quite taken away, and the point as to the hon^r of it, remains to the English Nation, The French taking off the Duty first, and we only following

upon the consideration they had done so, I referr it without any further comment to Your Lord^{sh} consideration, I thought proper to lose no time in communicating it to You.

Monsieur Desmaretz most certainly understands that the 8th and 9th Articles include a very hard Bargain for France but that they would not give Us occasion to believe they had a mind to be off from it at a time when (as he expressed it) They courted our Friendship, and when those who wished ill to it would form Arguments from such an Occasion to the Prejudice of both Nations. He seems to be very frank as to the Instructing and sending the Comm^{rs} when You shal want them apprehending only that their being soon and staying long with You, shows too great a forwardness on their side and gives our Enemies reason to think that France finds Her Interest advanced by the Stipulation. Upon this Subject he goes on even a note above Eta, for he affirms it as Demonstration that the Disadvantage is on the French, and the Balance of Trade on our side.

PARIS December the 18th 1713.

MY LORD.

The Edict which I send Your Lordship inclosed has altered the Securities promised by several former Edicts to the Persons concerned in the Funds of the Hôtel de Ville, and reduces them all to the Denier 25, which is about our four in the Pound, I forbear making any particular Remarks upon it, since this Letter comes to Your Lordship by the ordinary Post. The immediate Effect which this Court expects from it is that it will enable the King to make Provisions for His Army's on the Rhine for another Year, in case the Emp^r will not be brought to terms of Peace.

As to the Principal it remains to be paid but without any prescribed term, and may be looked upon as a *fond perdu*. I am ever with all possible duty and respect

My Lord

Yo^r Lordshps most ob^d and most humble Ser^t

M. PRIOR.

PARIS. *January the 10th 1714.*

MY LORD.

M^r Robert Saunderson, my fellow Colegiate and acquaintance of five and twenty Years past, has for the twelve last of them been assistant to M^r Rymer in composing the Volumes which we already have of the *Fœdera conventiones &c^a*, and to say the truth of it, the latter of these Volumes have been mostly the fruit of this Gentlemans Labour. He has actually in his hands those Papers which are to continue the next Volume of the Collection, and what he desires is to be M^r Rymers Successor as Historiographer, having so long time been his fellow Labourer: He thinks my recommending his Case to Your Lordship may be of Service to him, if so, my Lord, I ought not in Justice to refuse it to him, especially since I think he has no other Friend but my self to recommend him to Your Lordships protection. He has been so closely conversant with Records that he has few living Witnesses to speak for him, and his want of acquaintance & Patrons must declare that he is better qualified for the employment he desires than any other Man one can think of.

I am with all possible duty and respect

My Lord

Yo^r Lordsp's most ob^t and humble Ser^t

M. PRIOR.

While I write this in m^r Sanderson's behalf it is always supposing you do not design this thing to m^r Wanly: whose merit and learning I ought to be just to: but in this case, I hope m^r Sanderson will be entitled to yo^r Lordsp's protection.

Fragment undated.

I will lett these people See in what manner the Queen's Minister knows to receive Her, the Child comes to Me, I have new cloathed him, (and need enough was there of it) and as soon as L^d Bolingb: sends for Him he shall be ready to return.

I have visited the Councell^r of State Harley, given Him your Lordsp's letter, and received from him great acknowledgements of your favour to this part of your family, and great expressions of his desire to correspond with his relations in Engl^d As to your personal merit of w^{ch} he spoke very

2 P

largely, I endeavoured (you will easily judge) to undeceive him as much as I could,—as to the Record w^{ch} you sent to the Ambass^r Harley at Ryswick, who was first Comen to President Harley father of this Gentleman He has searched amongst all the late Ambass^r's papers, and the Ambass^r's lady has likewise done the same, but they can not find it: the Ambass^r's widdow is daughter to the late Chancell Boucherat: the Ambass^r's Son is likewise of the Robe:

The Councell^r d'Etat is father to the Princesse de Tingry, and has no other Child. He is of the Elder branch descended frō the Nicolas's and Achilles' de Harley;

He has a Cabinet, w^{ch} He showed Me, where all their pictures are and expressed his desire very handsomely of having the favour of Your Lordsp's to honour the Collection: w^{ch} I hope and indeed have engaged to intercede with your Lordsp that He may have.

Pray think of it, my Lord, and of the Rymers for mons^r de Torcy, and of Dick Shelton, and lastly of a person whom neither You nor I ought to forgett, that is of

Your most ob^t and humble Ser^t for ever and ever

M. PRIOR.

The Queen is well, and my heart is again at rest.

PARIS the ¹²/₂₅ May 1714.

MY LORD

I should be very glad to finish all Affairs with w^{ch} I have been charged before I leave this court: I hope the last answer w^{ch} I sent to L^d Bolingb: in w^{ch} the time for the Demolition of the Sluyces at Dunkirk stands prefixed, will sett that business beyond all further Contest.

As I formerly have told You, the disposition in w^{ch} I found the El^r of Bavaria as to the respect and veneration w^{ch} he owes her Maj^{ty} I find he would be very glad that I might give Him some testimony of her Maj^{ties} good will and friendship towards him. I wish I were enabled so to do, and leave it to your consideration of what consequence it may be towards the making the Queen respected by the Emp^r and by other Princes in Germany that She has a sure hold of that Prince: One may see the power w^{ch} personal obligations always have upon the mind of the El^r

Another thing w^{ch} I think of great concern, and I hope You will like-

wise, is that when I take leave of mons^r de Torcy I should certainly have some letter or be enabled to say something to him from my Lord Treasurer: a personal friendship between You and Him is of too great Moment to the affairs of Each of your Souverains to be neglected; and as I have heitherto been Instrumental in Improving this good Correspondence, I should be pleased at my return to be able to assure You I had confirmed it.

It is now more than 2 years since the Rymer's Foedera have been promised to Him, and more than One Year since I sent for my own Caesar's Commentaries and gave it to his Son in your Son's name.

As to the opening the Commerce between the 2 Nations, I have been told here and have writ to L^d Bolingb: that orders are sent to the French Commiss^{rs} as full as We can desire or they can send from hence: if it be so, the whole may be concluded (indeed) by anybody, and in a very little time, and with very much Ease; if it be otherwise would it not be proper that all difficulty should be obviated and removed before my coming away?

With all this or what else You think proper I hope You will charge my friend Barton.

Thus far I wrote Yesterday but how vain are human hopes, Barton storks in this morning, brings Me a great deal of business the substance of most of w^{ch} I write to L^d Bolingb: but brings Me no letter from L^d Treas^r no matter an other Messeng^r will come and I will take it as sufficient for One return that Dick Shelton is Stampato.

Adieu, my Lord, pray lett Me hear that I am Some body and beleive I shall ever own my being so to Some body

Yours my Lord for ever and ever

M. P.

M: d'Annandale is here, I thought his quality would justify my introducing him to the King and have accordingly done so, the Monarch received him fort gracieusement.

PARIS $\frac{1}{12}$ June. 1714.

MY LORD

Mons^r Torcy dunns Me to death upon the affair of the Dowry, w^{ch} the good Abbot says twice every week shall be done the next. I promised

Mons^r Torcy that I would write to your Lordsp about it, and I do so liberavi Animam meam.

Lord Bolingb: has drawn upon Me for an other detachment of Protestants in the Gallies: and friend Torcy has fired upon the demand: the King, says He, has released above 170 because He would gratify the Queen in every thing: why do you ministers of a Monarch go on to plead for rebells, Mutineers &c are not these French Hugonots the worst Enemies the King has? nay are they not the worst the Queen has? this is friend Torcy, but every body is at one time or other on the high ropes.

This I hint to You, there are some things that I ought not to write too plain to any body else. I am entirely and ever

My Lord

Yo^r Ser^t

God knows where Peterb: is or what He is doing or when he will be here: I have letters for him from above 6 Weeks past,

I need not say how much I desire to See You, and I will not say more than that I think my self pretty odly dealt with upon that acc^t

Lord Johnstone teases Me to know how his affair is to be settled after my leaving Paris, to L^d Annandale I show all the regard imaginable: He appears in what He says very dutifull to the Queen, but a good deal discontented as to the affairs of Scotland.

There is an Insurrection at Lyons, if any of the Nouveaux Convertis be found in it they will be punished most exemplairely: this therefore is not a time to talk of releasing more Gally Slaves: You must hang those that transgress her Maj^{ties} laws in Ireland as the D: of Shrewsbury complains, for You may be assured that they will be very severe ag^t those who are in mutiny and rebellion here. I hope to hear from you by Barton and once more, beg leave to assure Yo^r Lordsp that the two things I most desire in the World are that Her Maj^{ty} may reign in health and glory and my L^d Treasurer be happy as well in his public as Domestic affairs: I am Yours, my L^d Ever.

Fragment with Letter of $\frac{29}{18}$ July 1714.

my Lord Peterb: was now at Paris and would in a day or two wait on His Maj^{ty} with a particular letter from the Queen to Him: He answered very

obligingly, and seemed mightily pleased and in good humour upon the Matter.

I instance to Your Lordsp in this w^{ch} looks like a *bagatelle* to support my old Thesis, that the greatest of Human actions turn upon the least movements, that to effect a National One must mediate a personal friendsp, and that a weltime Complement may sometimes do One's prince as much service as a grave Negociation.

I have tyred Your Lordsp but can not release You before I add my best wishes to You for the prosperity of You and Yours: I am ever, my Lord, my Patron, my friend

most inviolably

Yours.

M. PRIOR.

my Sister Carmarthen has gott a Son, god bless Him. Sister Duplin stood Godmother, and her Sister is I suppose to return the kindness upon the next Occasion: so the friendsp improves, and the family encreases, tant mieux. pray let Me come home, for it is impossible to stay abroad while there are such doings in Eng^d

Be pleased to lett m^r Hagley, my fellow Officer know that the 16 Nov^r there were directed to the Earl of Oxford 500 bottles of Côte Rotie in 4 basketts or Hampers w^{ch} I hope he has or will receive safely.

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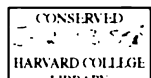
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